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THE PROPHECIES OF JESUS CHRIST

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THE
PROPHECIES OF JESUS CHRIST

*RELATING TO HIS DEATH,
RESURRECTION, AND SECOND COMING,
AND THEIR FULFILMENT*

BY

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“I am the Way and the Truth and the Life : No man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him : Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.”

JOHN xiv. 6 ; MATT. xi. 27 ; MARK xiii. 32.

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the fourth part of a work, the full title of which will be "The Revelation of God in Jesus Christ, its Content, Range, and Limits." The last part of the book is published first, because it deals with questions that are being earnestly discussed in present-day theology, and that permit of separate treatment, even apart from their ultimate psychological establishment. If it be thought that certain results should be traced more thoroughly to their basis in Jesus' mental life, that is a defect which I hope to make good as soon as possible. In this part of the work, also, I have endeavoured to establish critically and to understand psychologically the full moral and religious content of the highest revelation. I am convinced that we can only gain this understanding by separating and distinguishing, according to fixed principles, the divine content from its human form, as conditioned by the ideas of

the time. God grant that this work also may contribute its humble share towards presenting the image of our Saviour in its own peculiar brilliancy !

PAUL SCHWARTZKOPFF.

WERNIGERODE.

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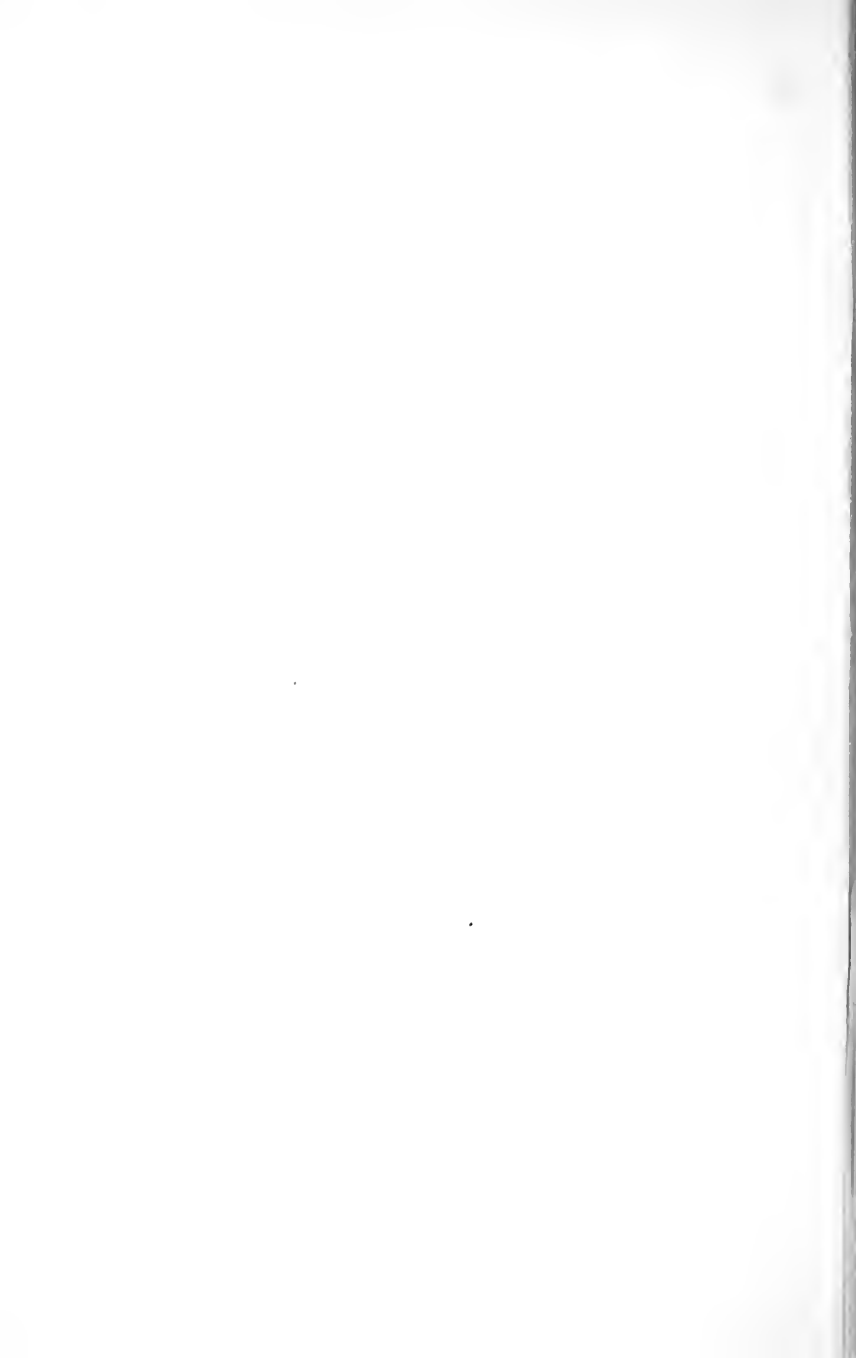
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CHAPTER I



The Importance of our Question and the
Main Point of View for its Solution



THE PROPHECIES OF JESUS CHRIST



CHAPTER I

THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR QUESTION AND THE MAIN POINT OF VIEW FOR ITS SOLUTION

THE relation between the divine and human elements of Christ's person has in all ages of the Church been one of the most important problems of theology. This problem has entered on a new stage since it was perceived that a more thorough investigation of Jesus' self-consciousness was necessary to any true understanding of His person and work. No doubt this has added to the difficulties of the question. In former days the divine and human in the person of Jesus were ranked alongside each other in a more or less external way even by theologians. And that may be sufficient even yet for the great mass of the Christian laity. For the faith which lays hold of the living God in Christ is not necessarily conditioned by the thoroughness with which the intellect grasps its content. But theology

as a science must now be called upon to fix more exactly the relation between the divine and the human in the inner life of Jesus.

As no one nowadays denies the Saviour's humanity, one cannot but acknowledge that the mind of Jesus was also a really human mind. But we are very much afraid of the necessary implication that it must have been subject to the limitations which circumscribe the mental life of man. It is not yet generally understood that if we remove the laws which express the essence of man's mental life, this life ceases to be human.

It is only this mental limitation that explains why Jesus, like His contemporaries, ascribes to David the authorship of the 110th Psalm, and indeed why He infers, merely from this assumption, that David foresaw the Messiah as his Lord, and that, too, as a King of such divine eminence as to surpass himself, the greatest king of the Jews, as the master surpasses his servant. This notion, moreover, is of some importance with regard to Messianic prophecy. And yet that psalm, as is now almost universally acknowledged, was not composed by David. Moreover, David was not even a prophet in the proper sense. Hence it is not difficult to show that David neither had, nor, conformably with the history of prophecy, could have had such a notion of the Messiah.

Again, it is evident from the statements of the

NOTE.—The figures on the right-hand corner denote the pages in the original German.

New Testament that Jesus believed in the existence of demons, who, as personal evil spirits united into a kingdom under Satan, were opposed to the kingdom of God. But He was conscious of being the founder of this kingdom, and the conqueror of that of Satan. This notion of Jesus has a still closer relation than the other to the form of His revelation of God. And yet the existence of personal demons is by no means universally acknowledged, even by positive theologians (cf. Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, vol. ii. p. 77 ff.).¹

Such assumptions of Jesus, as that David was the author of the 110th Psalm, or that he prophetically foresaw the Messiah, or that demons had a personal existence, might be increased by a multitude of similar examples. The first indicates a limitation of His thought with regard to exegesis; the second reveals above all an imperfect notion of the development of prophecy; the third has directly to do with the form in which He grasped the content of His revelation of God. The objective incorrectness of all three notions, however, evidently arose from Jesus' dependence on contemporary ideas both as regards religious and secular matters.

If this be so, then one of the most pressing duties of theology is to establish *in concreto*, as far as possible, what belongs to the absolute divine content of Jesus' revelation, and what to its form as conditioned by His humanity and the opinions of His

¹ I intend at some future time to investigate more thoroughly the possibility and extent of error on Jesus' part.

day. I have done this in a searching investigation of "the whole revelation of God in Jesus Christ, its content, its range, and its limit," which, however, for various reasons, I shall not meanwhile publish in this form. What I herewith submit to the public is merely the last portion, forming perhaps a fourth part of my work. In the following pages I shall attempt to carry out the plan of the larger work only in a more limited sphere.

There can be no better test for the psychological distinction of the divine and the human in Christ's mental life than the predictions of His resurrection and second coming. Hence these at present occupy the foremost place in theological discussions. For our conception of them and of their relation to their fulfilment will determine our whole view of Christ's person and work. They presuppose, however, Jesus' prediction of His death, and therefore I begin with a brief discussion of that.

It is, of course, of essential importance for the fulfilment of our task to view it from the right standpoint at the very first. This is supplied by two facts which are reciprocally determined and limited. The first is that imperfection of Jesus' mental life, already referred to, from which He derived certain objectively wrong ideas that concerned to some extent even the form of His revelation of God. If these wrong notions were necessarily connected with any moral defect, we would never be able to admit them, as the impression of His

absolute moral purity would not allow it. But it can be proved that, even in the case of moral perfection, they follow from the limitations of human thought as such. However, the proof of this would lead us too far.

The other fact is just that moral perfection of His person. The impression of our Lord's sinlessness is forced upon every competent judge by the synoptic picture of His life and character as a whole. This also I must here take for granted on account of want of space.¹ At any rate, no one is entitled to see in Christ the perfect revelation of God save he who admits His absolute sinlessness. For this alone renders possible and guarantees the uninterrupted fellowship of God with Jesus, and with that the absolute certainty of the content of His revelation. This makes Jesus the incarnate ideal of the prophet, who, as such, forms a class by Himself and is more than a prophet. That is a fact which has not yet been universally acknowledged as it deserves.

The absolute perfection of the revelation, however, applies directly only to its content. For it is produced by the immediate action of God upon the moral feeling which derives from this its religious aspect. By moral feeling I understand the instinct of the (acting) personality as such, which, by its aid, directly estimates the good as that which corresponds to its true nature and intrinsic aim. The

¹ I shall deal specially with the sinlessness of Jesus Christ in another place.

more exact establishment of this idea would lead us too far here. This judgment must be infallible in the case of the Sinless One. But in this state of matters even the perfectly good One could test the *divine* origin of what was revealed to Him only by its relation to the goodness for which He had the absolute standard in His moral feeling. Now, as the good has its original existence only in the will and in the disposition, Jesus' revelation, in itself, can only contain experiences which correspond to God's love for humanity and the divine qualities in man, and which represent the personal intercourse between God and man. Hence, while there is a guarantee for the perfection of Christ's revelation in its saving content, there can be no absolute security for the infallibility of the form, so far as that form is a matter of moral and religious indifference.

We can only gain the proper standpoint for estimating with any possible certainty the concrete elements of Jesus' revelation, by taking into account these two marks of His mental life—His sinlessness on the one hand, and the imperfection of His thought on the other. The supposition that we can make a completely unreserved use of the historical material of the Synoptists is a self-delusion. For the value of the several parts of the tradition, some of them doubtful and a few even self-contradictory, can only be tested and harmonised by means of the whole revelation. An unprejudiced conception of the undoubted personal purity of the historical

Jesus, whose intellect nevertheless shows signs of human imperfection, can alone put all the details in a true light.

I can only indicate here in a few words how the infallibility of the content of Jesus' revelation is positively guaranteed by His sinlessness. This sinlessness expresses the perfection of holy love. Jesus' first revelation of His spiritual Sonship to God, which meets us as the fundamental fact of His self-consciousness, must have arisen on the basis of that love. For in this is presented, first of all, the inward experience of the relation in which God as perfect holy love must stand towards that man dependent on Him whose disposition is throughout similar to the divine. To express the complete satisfaction and favour of God, there is no more appropriate image in human society than the relation of father to son. The self-evident presupposition of this unique religious relation of Jesus to God as His Father is the corresponding unique connection with God in His metaphysical essence and origin (Mark xiii. 32: cf. Vorbrod, *Psychologie des Glaubens*, Göttingen 1895, p. 118). However, this needs no further discussion here.

It was only in the Sinless One that the revelation of God's purely paternal love could have been produced as an organic necessity. Hence it was the firm, unalloyed, and, consequently, the unerring content of His moral feeling. In this subjective experience of Jesus with regard to His divine

Sonship is concealed the kernel of His whole saving revelation. All essential aspects of it must have followed from this, or been measured by it.

Through Jesus' experience of God's favour, bestowed on Him as a good man, He became sensible of God's will to be the Father of all other good men, and to bring them salvation by a realisation of the good within them. Thus the Lord came to know God's purpose to be the Father of men, and men's destination to be children of God (Matt. vi. 9 ; Luke xi. 2).

But, as the Sinless One, Jesus must at the same time have possessed infallibility with regard to the moral judgment of men's sin as a bent of mind which was in contradiction not only to the good, but also to the divine good pleasure, and one that hindered salvation. The moral and religious contrast between others and Himself could not fail to make Him conscious of His own sinlessness. Now, if He felt Himself to be the Child of God, and in possession of the salvation which others had not, He must have felt and embraced it as His calling to proclaim in the power and spirit and name of the divine love to His brethren who were estranged from God and lost through sin, the same way of access to divine sonship. Hence from His own unique position as Son there naturally arose the sense of His task as Saviour.

This task He was able and obliged to perform as the ideal prophet. For He must have felt fitted and called upon to be the agent of redemption just

in proportion as He knew Himself to be the bearer of the perfect revelation of God, who, in the deepest basis of His personal life, was one in essence and of the same nature as the Father. By not only proclaiming God's pitying love, but exhibiting that love in His own life, and offering it in God's name for immediate appropriation, He became the perfect Mediator of salvation. The omnipotence of His divine love, which gave itself up to death for the reconciliation of the sinful world, blotted out guilt, and conquered the power of sin in human hearts, awoke in them a grateful answering love, and transformed them into the divine likeness. The aim, the duty, the perfect blessedness of the divine life, which Christ embodied in His character and walk, brought home to men's hearts and consciences in an incomparable way the evil of sin, and made them desirous and capable of being delivered from it. In short, from the fact that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, the ideal of the prophet, the "Word" became flesh in Christ.

There is, however, another main part of His saving mission to be deduced from His original revelation. For it simply presents a particular aspect of the way in which He manifested His calling as Saviour or ideal prophet. If the good and divine, the true righteousness of God, had a real existence in Him alone, then His judgment of men's spiritual worth, based on these attributes, was necessarily the only standard by which that worth could be measured in

time and eternity, the only standard, therefore, by which it would be judged by God. Nay more; man's relation to Christ's person, in which the spiritual ideal is realised, meant his position towards God, and therefore decided his eternal destiny, which depended on that position. He Himself, moreover, as the only Mediator between God and man, was necessarily also the Mediator of that judicial decision. This position as Judge of the world simply proves the absolute genuineness of Jesus' saving mission.

Hence all other revelations that are essential to salvation are comprised in Jesus' original revelation of God's fatherly love to Him, or of His being the Son of God.

This revelation must have become more and more clear to His consciousness as soon as He attained to mature reflection on His position towards God and man, and certainly, therefore, before He openly took up His calling as Messiah. Its whole content embraces the various expressions of Jesus' self-consciousness as Mediator between God and man. Our deliverance is effected by a believing appropriation of God's act in sending His Son for our salvation, and by that alone. The complete infallibility of the content of this salvation is guaranteed by Christ's personal experience of God as the ideal prophet.

No doubt the concrete forms of thought in which this religious content was unfolded—kingdom of God, Messiah, Son of Man, etc.—were taken by Jesus from the traditions of His people, and from

His age. This is where Jesus was specially influenced by the theology of the prophets, and by the Pharisees. How far these contemporary views which He accepted squared with their perfect religious content must be settled by a special investigation in the case of each. Yet it follows from the true humanness of Jesus' mental life that His notions about the exegetical, physical, metaphysical, in short, about every aspect even of His religious beliefs that has no direct spiritual value, cannot be unreservedly accepted as authoritative. This is proved by His conception of the 110th Psalm, and by His belief in demons. These notions, moreover, could only share in the authority of His knowledge of God, so far as necessarily followed from their connection with that knowledge, and so far as Jesus had occasion for reflecting on that connection. Moreover, though He was far superior to His contemporaries in mental power, the very absoluteness of His religious genius must have concentrated His interest on His mission as Saviour with such energetic onesidedness, that anything not directly bearing on that mission seldom entered into His mind.

On the other hand, His perfect religious experience, not only through its contents, but also through its unique form, gave Him an infallible standard with which to test the religious genuineness of the content of every other revelation, in so far as this revelation professed to describe the manner of God's intercourse with man. This supplied the test with which He

criticised inimitably the ideas of the Old Testament and of the Pharisees.

Among the formal characteristics of Jesus' relation to God, and at the same time of true religiousness, the following are the most essential. First, its individualism, by virtue of which God enters into direct intercourse only with the individual. Closely connected with this is the subjectivism of that intercourse. For, as a purely personal intercourse, it excludes every material medium. In so far, again, as the Ego confronts everything material as something external, the subjectivism is deepened into the inwardness of pure spirituality, the Pneumatism of fellowship with God. This confronts us with that form of the relation in which it appears in its deepest, and, at the same time, its most concrete aspect. That is the moral and religious relation as such. Here the intercourse exhibits the fundamental form of a mutual loving devotion based on confidence. Its content is simply the reciprocal action of the two concrete subjects, God and man.

By learning in that intercourse that love is the fundamental attribute of God, which communicates itself in a degree only limited by the self-surrendering susceptibility of man, Jesus gained the standard for determining the inmost nature of the mutual relation. If the religious feeling is a modification of the moral feeling, the corresponding principle in Jesus might be termed His ethicism. If this ethicism is applied to the mutual action of the children of God on one

another as it is determined in accordance with God's loving disposition, or to God's essential government of the world as the realising of His saving purpose in human society, then it follows that a ministering and self-surrendering love, after the divine pattern, is the guiding principle for social life.

Further, if the only condition of communion with God on the part of man is the purely inward and spiritual one of susceptibility for grace, the universalism of salvation, and, mediately also, of the kingdom of God, follows from ethicism socially applied. The way by which the kingdom of God is to become universal does not, in the first instance, come into consideration here.

Individualism, subjectivism, spiritualism, ethicism, and universalism are therefore Jesus' intuitive principles, which necessarily follow from His absolute fellowship with God. Ethicism, as being the most direct expression of the intercourse with God Himself, is of course the fundamental form which rules and determines them. These immanent principles of Jesus' religious criticism are, moreover, the appropriate test for judging of those views, ascribed to Him by contending traditions, with reference to particular religious ideas.

The above criteria are the expression of Jesus' moral and religious judgments. Yet if we seek to ascertain by their aid the actual facts of Jesus' views in all their details, we must, in doing so, take into account another imperfection of human

thought. In accordance with this, not only must Jesus' world of ideas have been one of limited extent, but He was not able to attain a perfectly clear consciousness of more than parts of it, and that in a gradually progressive way. The more directly certain ideas were connected with the saving content of religion, the more prominent must have been their place in Jesus' mind. Hence the predominance of the more abstract principles of inwardness and spirituality was necessarily limited by the more immediate religious interest of ethicism. When Jesus, *e.g.*, depotentiated the external form of the kingdom of God, the logical consequence may, in itself, be a complete spiritualising of it; but it was not on that account a psychological necessity (cf. ch. iv.). For the religious content of that kingdom was to Him of such importance that the immediate interest in it would leave no place for sustained reflection on the less important form. Nevertheless the content must have had a corresponding form.

With regard to such things as are not of direct religious importance, nothing but an impartial examination of the text can bring out the actual views of Jesus in all their details. We may indeed not arrive at actual certainty, but we may attain to a greater or less degree of probability. As He did not look upon the demons introduced from Persia as mere figures or personifications of impersonal powers, but rather as personal spirits, He would just as little, in spite of the spirituality and sublimity

of His general view, see a sufficient reason for completely divesting the final kingdom, though He did regard its essence as purely spiritual, of the bodily forms in which it was for the most part handed down by the prophets. He may perhaps have understood it to have a material though spiritualised form.¹

However, we can already predict more exactly the probable direction taken by certain human imperfections in the form of His infallible revelation. If, in regard to this latter, He was the ideal prophet, such defects of conception might have lain only in the line of the prediction, especially as found in the Old Testament, which He not only adopted with full consciousness in everything essential, but which He knew He had come to fulfil. In this sense and to this extent we must expect in Him also the characteristic defects of prophecy. This, of course, holds good of Jesus' own predictions in so far as they are the expression of God's revelation regarding the future. Thus, in particular, the prophecies of His death, resurrection, and second coming, the contents of which are the future perfection of salvation, come under this point of view. The same imperfections of form which characterise the prophesyings of the Old Testament generally will probably adhere to them. Hence, like the old prophets, Jesus (1) presented His religious and especially prophetic revelation in certain forms that are probably borrowed or

¹ The fuller discussion of this point belongs to chap. iv. 2b.

imitated from tradition and the natural way of looking at things, particularly as found in His own day. These forms were not perhaps exactly suitable, but had no religious significance. (2) Even in the case of Jesus, the prophetic knowledge of the exact circumstances of a foreseen event cannot have been absolutely certain. As, in particular, He could not have had any exact acquaintance with the secret springs and special circumstances of the historical development, He must also have lacked perfect prophetic insight into the duration of the periods of the final kingdom's development, as well as an exact knowledge of the definite moment of its appearance, especially of the time of its final consummation. For the reasons adduced, He would not be able, generally speaking, to appreciate these imperfections in His own knowledge in so far as they were matters of direct religious indifference.

The later historical proofs of these main defects in the form of revelation, as also exemplified in Jesus' case, will justify their derivation from His prophetic attributes.¹

We have provisionally established the prophetic peculiarity of Jesus and the content and sphere of His infallible revelation. We have next deduced the main principles and criteria applicable to the form of His revelation, and then stated the characteristic imperfections of the prediction which we

¹ I must defer the proof of this peculiar kind of prophetic revelation, as such, to another place.

must expect even in Him. We have thereby gained the proper standpoint from which to estimate the historical tradition concerning the predictions of Jesus which are in question. We shall now, at once, begin our investigation of these. This, of course, will have to be a purely objective inquiry, based exclusively on the strict exposition of the traditional material and on the views of Jesus which may be elsewhere historically verified. To this extent, the investigation will maintain its independence even of the principles which I have laid down for the conception of Christ's person. These, indeed, are recognised, in whole or in part, by the majority of theologians to-day, though they are usually assumed in virtue of a certain empiric common feeling rather than established on a satisfactory psychological basis. But even if we leave them entirely out of account or partly deny their justification, my investigation of the facts must be judged on its own merits, and this estimate is not essentially dependent on the attitude taken up towards my general views. For myself, however, and those who share my views, they will serve as guiding lines which, especially in doubtful cases, may show the way to the goal of our investigation. If they should prove to be capable, more capable than other points of view, of furnishing a proper understanding of the predictions of Jesus which are now before us, that will necessarily establish their reliability *à posteriori*.

Jesus would not really have uttered His main predictions but for the violent death that was appointed Him in His calling as Redeemer. That may at first startle us. For the predictions of the old prophets were a main branch of their preaching. It may, however, be explained by His special position to the kingdom of God. Prophecy is only a special utterance of the prophet as pastor of the nation. Predictions in the proper sense, however, refer to the future history of salvation, viz. the final kingdom and the march of the divine education of the people up to that time. But Jesus knew Himself to be the God-sent fulfiller of those predictions and the founder of this kingdom of God (Matt. v. 17, xii. 28). Hence His mission in itself had not necessarily anything to do with prediction. The only occasion there could be for this was where peculiar circumstances modified the fulfilment of the predictions of the old prophets, which the Pharisees had further developed. And this occasion was given in the fact that the founding of the final kingdom by Jesus could only, on account of man's wickedness (Mark ix. 12 f.), be consummated in an abnormal way. Only when He perceived it to be God's purpose that He should die for the final accomplishment of His mission, could He see clearly that the founding of the kingdom would have to be accomplished in a correspondingly different way.

Now, as Jesus' whole being was merged in His calling, all the relative predictions virtually form

members of a whole which is made a unity by the task of founding the kingdom. For the same reason they revolve around the future of Jesus' own person, which was inseparably connected with the future of His cause.

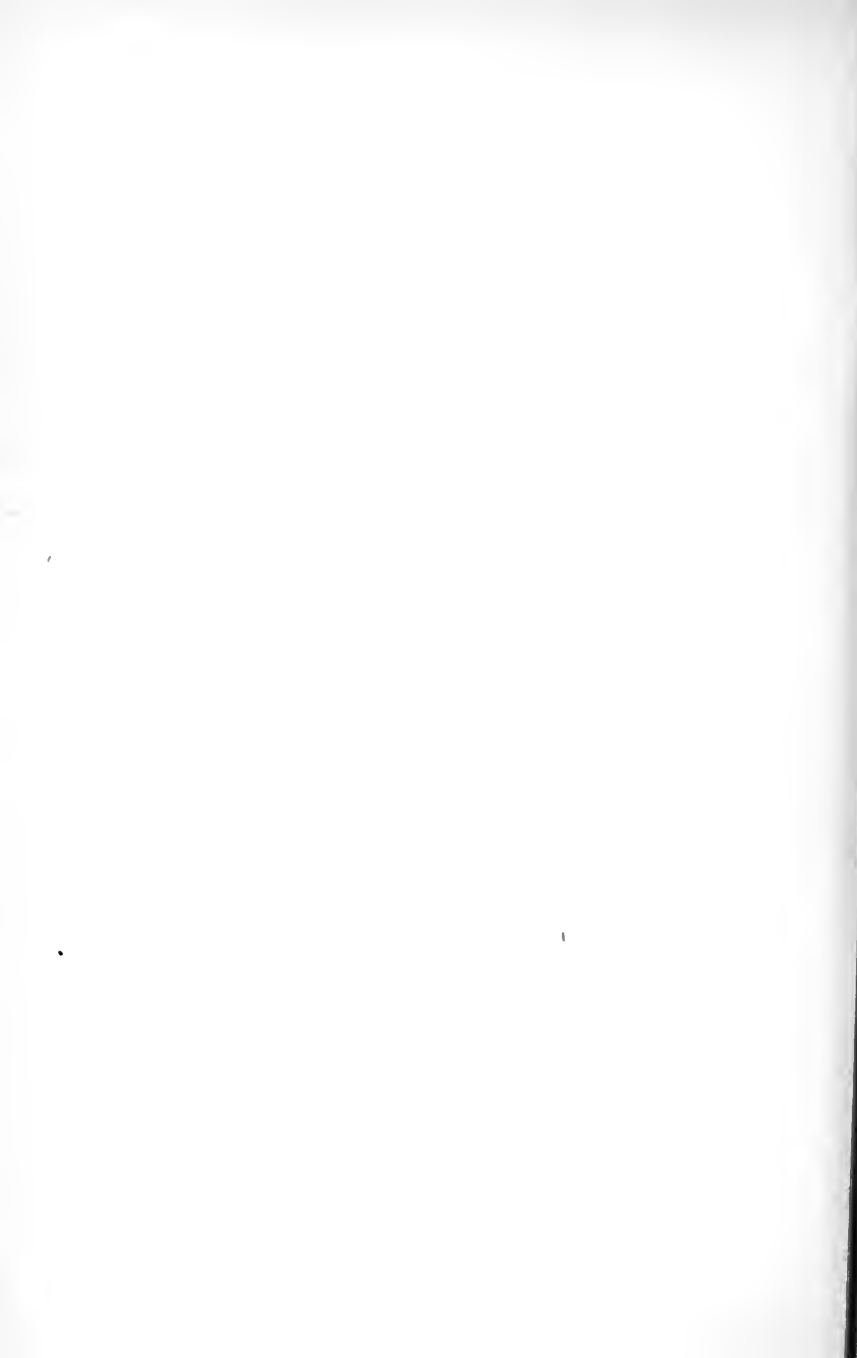
Their concrete content, accordingly, refers to the special manner in which His Messianic vocation was finally carried out. Inasmuch as this mission is founded on His original revelation, that revelation forms the ultimate basis of all His predictions.



CHAPTER II



The Prediction of Jesus as to His Death



CHAPTER II

THE PREDICTION OF JESUS AS TO HIS DEATH

OUR first subject of investigation is Jesus' prediction as to His death. We cannot, of course, prove directly, from any of our Lord's utterances which have been transmitted to us, that He expected, at the first, to succeed in setting up the kingdom of God in its final form during His lifetime.¹ However, it is a psychological impossibility that He should have expected and foretold from the very commencement of His ministry that it would end in His death. For He was not omniscient, but had a human intellect. The knowledge of His death must therefore have gradually grown up out of definite reasons and on definite occasions, in order that it might receive at last the stamp of a divine revelation. But so long as He increased in the favour of the multitude, who wondered at His doctrine and mighty deeds, and praised Him as a great prophet,²

¹ Cf., however, the indirect proof, p. 27 f.

² Luke ii. 52 ; Mark i. 22, 27 f., 45, ii. 2 ; Luke vii. 16 ; while Mark ii. 24 and Luke vii. 36 f. probably belong to the period of conflict. Cf. Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 36.

He could have had no great occasion, in the concrete experience of life, for supposing He would meet with a violent death.

No doubt He must have clearly seen from the beginning that suffering awaited Him in His Messianic mission. If, even before entering on His ministry, He renounced the outward political Messiahship as a temptation of the devil (Matt. iv. 5-10), and would not, at any cost, swerve from the path which God had prescribed as that on which He should fulfil His calling (ver. 10), He could not but observe that He thereby placed Himself in opposition to the general expectations of the people. Accordingly, He must even then have surmised that that opposition would involve Him in a hard and painful conflict.

But that did not necessarily mean that the struggle would end in death. As Messiah, He was conscious that God's plan aimed at setting up the kingdom by no other than Himself. The proof of this will be found in chap. iv. This, at first, must have seemed to furnish a guarantee that that conflict would end in open victory. Jesus knew also that He had come to fulfil the predictions of the Old Testament (Matt. v. 17, xi. 13; Luke xxii. 37). And these predictions made no reference to a death of the Messiah.

No doubt Isaiah liii. foreshadowed the death of the servant of Jehovah; but this was entirely explained away by the exposition of the Rabbis (cf. Weber, *Talmud*, pp. 344-346). And in a certain sense this

was right. For, though the servant of God was regarded as Messiah, yet the general impression conveyed by the views of the prophets forbade any such ideas about the Messiah, but rather described Him as a glorious conqueror of the unbelievers, and as a ruler over the people of God. Hence such rare and uncongenial ideas fell completely into the background.

In the first period, therefore, Jesus had no call to consider death a necessary feature in His spiritualised view of Messiah. And it may even be concluded, at least indirectly, that He really did not do so. This follows from Matt. ix. 12, 13. For, according to that passage, He indeed sees the great sufferings and the rejection of the Son of Man foreshadowed in Isa. liii. (12^b); that is to say, He manifestly expects that He will have to suffer to the uttermost in accordance with that prediction (cf. Mark ix. 9 f.). But He brings out the sharp contrast between that prediction and another, which declares that Elias is to come and restore all things before the appearance of Messiah (12^a). Elias no doubt did appear as His forerunner in John the Baptist (13^a). But his fate proves that he was far from having realised his saving purpose of converting the nation to God, so that it was rather the *sufferings* of Elias that necessarily proved true in him (13^b, cf. Holtzmann, *H. C.* 201). Hence it is *now* necessary that Isaiah's prediction of the suffering of death should be fulfilled in the Messiah (cf. καὶ Ἑλίας, 13). Jesus finds the solution of the

paradoxical contrast between 12^{a & b} in 13^b. Unless the Baptist had been prevented by the wickedness of men from fully realising his destiny, the Son of Man would have had no need to die. Accordingly, Jesus cannot, at the beginning, have expected to be put to death.

It was only after His coming into collision with the malicious and obstinate resistance of the hierarchy, which till then had determined the faith and life of the people, that the perception must have arisen, and that at first in a purely human manner, that this resistance might be carried out to the very uttermost. And this necessarily brought before His mind the possibility of death in His calling. From the time that He gained this conviction from the inexorable hostility of the leaders of the people, His execution at their hands, supposing them to have the power, must have seemed to Him in the highest degree probable. The faithful Messenger of God could neither deny His principles nor His aim in life, and therefore could not escape His fate by flight. Hence, humanly speaking, He could expect no other end than death for unwarranted Messianic claims.

The fate of many prophets could only have strengthened that conviction. But, above all, the imprisonment and bloody end of John the Baptist must have warned Him that the King of the kingdom of God would not fare otherwise than His forerunner. The passages, Mark ix. 12 f.,

Luke xiii. 32 f., Matt. xxiii. 33-39, prove that Jesus had this very fate of the prophets repeatedly before His mind.¹

Strictly speaking, we have no right to ask when this knowledge first dawned on Jesus. For, in accordance with the situation, it must have been gradually developed out of the idea of its mere possibility into greater certainty, and finally to the highest probability. Yet, at a comparatively early period, we come across a presentiment of His death. It probably dawned on Him soon after the outbreak of His conflict with the Pharisees. That incident in Capernaum when He forgave the sins of the paralytic, and the scribes who were present secretly charged Him with blasphemy (Mark ii. 7), might have suggested to Him the end of the blasphemer. And now, when even the Pharisees upbraid Him and His disciples for their non-ascetic life and their intercourse with publicans and sinners, whom they hated and despised (Mark ii. 16; cf. Matt. xi. 19), He who knew what was in man perceived that He would never win those sound ones who had no need of the Physician (Mark ii. 17). Then, for the first time, He throws out a hint, which indeed the disciples did not then understand, but which already plainly declares that He saw death hovering before Him as the end of His ministry. A time will come when

¹ Let it be said here, once for all, that the proof of the Messianic attitude of Jesus must be presupposed here, as, so far as it is relevant to our subject, it is given in chap. iv.

the "Bridegroom" will be taken from the midst of the disciples, and then their sadness will find expression in fasting (Mark ii. 20).¹ At that time, therefore, the habits of Jesus are accurately known, and the hierarchy assail them in pious self-conceit, by contrasting with Him even the disciples of the Baptist (Mark ii. 18), whom they otherwise hated (Luke vii. 20). His work must therefore have already reached or approximated to a certain climax. We cannot conjecture more about this epoch, since those quarrels of Jesus with the Pharisees (Mark ii. 1-3, 6) are not grouped by the second Evangelist according to historical order, but are arranged according to subject (Wendt, *l.c.* i. pp. 23-25, 36). From whom, then, was Jesus to expect this violent death,

¹ If Jesus at that time had supposed that His earthly activity would at once pass over into the completed kingdom of God, He could not possibly have contemplated a separation from His disciples (cf. Erich Haupt, *Die Eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den Synoptischen Evangelien*, p. 108 ff.). But Haupt's idea, which leaves death entirely out of account, that He will go to the Father to be able to usher in the heavenly kingdom, does not seem to me to be fortunate in the reason it assigns for the deep sadness of the disciples, in its sharp contrast to their present joy. When He further exclaims (Mark ix. 19), "O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you?" the meaning seems to me to be that He will not be much longer among them, as He who patiently bears all their unbelief, and therefore it will soon be too late for them if they still refuse to believe. The words can have nothing to do with an anxious desire to go from them, without reference to death, because even here Jesus reckons with the necessity of His execution. In Titius' book, *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, which appeared just after I had finished mine, I find an attempt, similar to my own, to explain the origin of Jesus' prospect of His death. His conception of the taking away of the Bridegroom, in Mark ii. 20, is also similar.

but from those who had already been sufficiently declared His enemies ?

But He gives further offence to the Pharisees by breaking their supposedly inviolable Sabbath laws (Mark ii. 24). Nay, He even ventures to heal a sick man in the synagogue upon the Sabbath day (iii. 1-5). That made the Pharisees, already hostile, watch for an opportunity to put an end, if possible, to His "illegal" doings. And this did not escape the great Heart-searcher. For He looks round on them with anger, being also grieved at the hardening of their hearts (ver. 5). Must He not have foreseen that their enmity would be increased, when, in spite of them, He completed the cure ? Their hatred had now actually grown to such a pitch that in order to destroy Him they united with the Herodians, who in other respects were repugnant to them (iii. 6).

Mark soon after this describes the scene where the scribes and Pharisees charge Jesus, after He has cured a demoniac (Matt. xii. 22), with casting out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils (Mark iii. 22). This event, as compared with the foregoing cases of conflict, marks an increase of hostility. For the Pharisees had come down from Jerusalem for the express purpose of laying traps for Jesus (iii. 22). And Jesus sees in their accusation a blaspheming of the Holy Ghost, the extreme obduracy of which (Luke xi. 34) He declares shall never be forgiven (Mark iii. 28 f.). He now also openly upbraids them for their hostility (Luke xi. 23), and possibly looks

back on a relapse of these men from a former better state (Luke xi. 24-26).¹

The prediction of Jesus as to the sign of Jonas would also belong to this connection if it meant what Matthew, who differs from Luke (Luke xi. 30), attributes to it, viz. His resurrection from the grave after three days (Matt. xii. 40). The severe reproof with which Jesus meets the demand of the Pharisees for a sign, shows how keen the conflict had already become (Luke xi. 16, 29; Matt. xii. 38 ff, 45; Mark viii. 11 f.).

The great apostasy which took place even among the disciples when the Lord declined the offer to make Him a king, must have still more disturbed His outlook into the future (John vi. 14 f., 60, 66; cf. Mark vi. 34-44; Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, vol. ii. p. 394). For now He began to lose the favour even of the people.² Henceforth the scribes and Pharisees, who had come down from Jerusalem to plot His destruction, found their task much easier (Mark vii. 1). It cannot have been much later when they assailed Jesus because He and His disciples paid no heed to the laws of purification. Then He opposed them with such severity as to brand them without reserve as hypocrites, charging them with transgressing the commandments of God for the sake of their traditions

¹ Perhaps He only threatens them here with a moral and spiritual degeneration in the future after they have rejected Him (cf. Titius, *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, Freiburg 1895, p. 15).

² To this period, at the soonest, belong also the woes uttered against Galilee, Matt. xi. 20 ff. (Titius, p. 15).

(Mark vii. 6, 9-13). In the first place, however, He was compelled by the great authority of those laws to retire into non-Jewish regions. This retirement was undoubtedly occasioned by fear of the consequences of Pharisaic enmity. The fact that He sought to hide Himself also favours that conclusion. He would scarcely have needed to do that on account of the people crowding on Him in the regions of Tyre (Mark vii. 24).

Finally, at Caesarea Philippi, Jesus shows that He has no doubt that He will be put to death (Mark viii. 31-33; Matt. xvi. 21-23; Luke ix. 22). He speaks here frankly and definitely about the fate that is just awaiting Him. His reproof of Peter, who urges Him to spare Himself, shows how firmly His resolve to die was based upon the knowledge of the divine appointment (cf. John x. 18, xv. 13). He regards him as the Satanic tempter who mindeth not the things of God, but the things of men (Mark viii. 32 f.; Matt. xvi. 22 f.). And throughout His journey to Jerusalem, into the den of assassins (Luke xiii. 34), which was shortly afterwards commenced, He maintained that resolution (cf. Mark ix. 2, 30, 33, x. 1, 17, 32, 46).

Accordingly, if Jesus, now openly professing to be Messiah, journeyed to the central sanctuary of God's people on the occasion of their greatest and most popular festival with the view of finally offering them the highest exhibition of God's grace, He did so in the full consciousness that He would thereby provoke

the obduracy of His enemies, and His own fate.¹ The thought of death, which had arisen at a comparatively early period, and been gradually developed, had now reached its climax.

From this time forth Jesus repeatedly speaks of His approaching death, and that not only in the circle of His disciples. He does not shrink from declaring the certain expectation of His fate as a prophet even in the presence of the Pharisees, who hypocritically seek to terrify Him with the plots of Herod (Luke xiii. 32 ff., cf. Matt. xxiii. 37). To this period also naturally belong those other sayings in the Gospels, in which He alludes to His death. He knows that He will have to suffer many things, and be rejected of this generation, before His reappearance in His day (Luke xvii. 24 f.). He is distressed at the thought of the baptism of blood which He has to undergo, before the fire, which He has come to cast on the earth, can be kindled (Mark x. 38 ; Luke xii. 49, 50). Though His heart is agitated when He thinks of His terrible fate, yet He does not pray the Father to deliver Him from it. For the Father Himself, in His saving purpose, leads Him into it. And the Son is convinced that the corn of wheat must first be cast into the earth and die before it can bring forth much fruit (John xii. 27, 24). To this period also undoubtedly belongs the theme of

¹ The explanation of W. Brandt, in *Die Evang. Gesch. u. d. Ursprung d. Christenthums* (1893), that Jesus' aim was to obtain the magistrates' recognition of His preaching (p. 479), does not form an adequate estimate of His Messianic consciousness.

that conversation between Moses and Elias concerning His approaching decease in the Transfiguration scene (Luke ix. 31). The statement (Luke xxiv. 26), "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things," etc., must be regarded as one which was awakened in the hearts of the disciples by the appearance of the Risen One.

On the other hand, we must not regard the promise of setting up the temple after its destruction (John ii. 19), as originally applying to His death and resurrection, as the four Evangelists do, but as referring to the founding of the kingdom of God by Jesus (see Meyer's *Comm. John*, 7th ed. p. 140).¹

At any rate, it is clear, from what has been said, that whatever presentiment Simeon may have had of certain sufferings of the Messiah, he cannot possibly have meant the death of Jesus by the sword which was to pierce the heart of Mary (Luke ii. 35). Otherwise, he would have been a better prophet than Jesus Himself, who did not from the first know that His death was necessary.

Besides these occasional statements about His death which He made after the day at Caesarea, Mark expressly tells us that He now began formally and frankly to instruct the little circle of His disciples more especially concerning the *necessity*, the divine "*δεῖ*," of His death (Mark viii. 31 f., cf. ix. 12). The importance which He attached to this instruction may be seen from the fact that for this

¹ Further details on this point will be given later.

purpose He withdrew entirely from the others on His journey through Galilee (Mark ix. 30 f., x. 32—34).

It would have been inconceivable, and indeed pedagogically inexcusable, if He had not done so. For we see that the communication perplexed the disciples as something new and unheard-of, even after the first announcement at Cæsarea (cf. Mark ix. 10, 32, x. 32 f.). This also proves that Jesus cannot have communicated that to them before. Peter could hardly have remonstrated with his Master in such a fashion a second time (Mark viii. 32 f.). And the fear of the disciples increased, the nearer they approached Jerusalem. The idea made them so uncomfortable that they did not care to ask Jesus further (Mark ix. 32, x. 32). They had absolutely no idea of the fact that the Messiah must needs die. With their fixed belief in inspiration this must have seemed to them an impossibility, because of its apparent contradiction to the whole of prophecy. A dead Messiah was a contradiction in terms. Death seemed to destroy outright Messiah's vocation.¹ How was a dead King to set up a kingdom? Though the atoning death of the righteous for the unrighteous was part of the rabbinical teaching (Weber, *Die Lehre des Talmud*, pp. 280 f., 286, 313 ff.), yet Paul was certainly the first who was bold enough to apply this proposition to Messiah. Before Jesus' crucifixion there was hardly any pressing need for this know-

¹ So also M. Krenkel, *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden*, 1869, p. 211.

ledge. And even Christ was only led to see the necessity of it through His own unique experience.

He had reason, therefore, for making the most of the short time before the crisis. This alone agrees with His principle (John vi. 4, xvi. 4). If He had not, so far at least as He could, indicated the solution of the riddle, the disciples would have been in danger of giving way to despair when the fearful event took place. This also seems to be a sufficient guarantee of the essential historicity of Jesus' last words to His disciples about His going to the Father, as reported by the fourth Evangelist.

From the moment He felt that His death was necessary, He would see in the picture of the Servant of God, who in the interests of His people endures the most terrible sufferings even unto death, an emblem of what He Himself had to expect. Hence He endeavoured to impress that necessity upon His disciples by means of this emblem. It is undoubtedly referred to in Mark x. 45. It is also probably referred to in Luke xxiv. 26 ("ἔδει"), 46 (γέγραπται), as well as in John i. 29, 36. Only, that instruction certainly did not aim at being exhaustive or even systematic, but rather consisted of concise but expressive hints frequently repeated. And this was so because Jesus found the disciples anything but disposed for a quiet development (Mark x. 32). Moreover, the emphatic expression of the divine necessity of His death was more important for the future of His friends, than fuller

information about the details of that suffering, even where He could have given that.¹

It was not, therefore, the fault of Jesus if the disciples were still unable to comprehend the divine determination that the Messiah should die, but it was a merit on His part that they recovered from the utter prostration occasioned by His death, and attained a belief in the resurrection which enabled them to overcome the world. If we have no warrant, then, for attributing their want of understanding to defective instruction on the part of Jesus, we have still less reason for the further inference that in the remarks about their want of intelligence we have a clear reminder that Jesus Himself did not up to the end regard His death and resurrection as absolutely necessary, and therefore did not definitely foreknow and foretell them.²

This brings us to the revealed character of His foresight. There is no doubt a difference between human probability, however great, and prophetic certainty. However much His enemies threatened Him with death, He firmly believed in the axiom of all pious hearts, that the Almighty, whose help He so often experienced, was able to deliver Him from every danger.

Only the insight into the *religious* necessity of His death could have given it *prophetic* certainty. But that knowledge could only have come to Him

¹ Cf. also Weiss on the passage.

² This is the view of W. Brandt, p. 195.

in virtue of an immediate divine revelation. His heart must have anxiously addressed to God the question whether His plan of salvation could be realised only by the surrender of His life (John xii. 27). His conviction could only have been perfected by the divine "yes," and this alone could have called forth His resolution to enter on the path of death. Thus the certain foreknowledge and prediction of His death depended on the perception that in this way God has appointed Him to fulfil His vocation.

We first meet with this knowledge as perfectly sure of itself at Cæsarea Philippi (Mark viii. 33). But elsewhere also we repeatedly come across it as a fact, and this in virtue of sayings of the Lord that are undoubtedly genuine (cf. pp. 33, 37). Its religious content and its confirmation, however, appear most clearly in Jesus' institution of the Last Supper. For here He describes His blood as the blood of the covenant which is shed for the salvation (*ὑπέρ*) of many (Mark xiv. 24). It is manifest that this specially refers to Jeremiah's promise of the new covenant (Jer. xxxi. 31-34). Consequently, the covenant between God and His people, which was entered into by Moses with unsatisfactory results, is now finally renewed by means of Jesus' surrender of Himself to death (Jer. xxxi. 36), and in such a way that it now brings complete salvation. Above all, it is to impart to the people a perfect knowledge of God, fellowship with Him,

righteousness, and forgiveness of sin (vers. 33, 34, cf. xxiv. 7 and Matt. xxvi. 28).

The fact of first importance here is that the Lord's Supper attests Jesus' foreknowledge of His death. This fact is so far admitted even by the acute but too sceptical W. Brandt, that he regards the breaking of bread by Jesus as an allusion to the destruction of His body (*l.c.* p. 487). However, much more follows from this, namely, that during the last period our Lord must have expected His death as an event that was foreseen in the divine arrangement of salvation. Brandt's denial of this (pp. 290-299) seems finally to rest on an underestimate of Jesus' consciousness of His mission. For, as we saw, the Lord, as the Sinless One, must have recognised Himself as the Mediator of salvation, and therefore as the founder of a new covenant of forgiveness of sin and perfect communion with God. And then, as we shall soon see more fully, Jesus must have subsequently expected this end to be attained especially by His death as the perfect exhibition of God's saving love. No impartial mind can doubt the authenticity of the oft-repeated tradition that Jesus knew His death would finally complete the new covenant with God. For, in Paul (1 Cor. xi. 25) the covenant of blood is incontestably equivalent to the blood of the covenant in Mark and Matthew. Hence the most recent controversies about the institution of the Lord's Supper cannot in any way affect this covenant. The only

question can be about its right interpretation. The content of this covenant must assuredly in the end be the kingdom of God as the embodiment of the highest good and the final aim of Jesus' mission. For the Lord's death is simply a condition, a medium, a preparing of the way for the perfect realisation of that kingdom (cf. Lütgert, *Das Reich Gottes nach den synoptischen Evangelien*, pp. 145–148, and Titius, *l.c.* pp. 149, 151 f.). In particular, the ingenious idea of Titius, who sees in the new covenant the guarantee to each individual disciple of the eternal life to which their Head had been exalted by death (cf. pp. 149–157), may correspond to Jesus' view. Yet he seems to me to give too little attention here to our Lord's relation to the covenant of Jeremiah. Otherwise he would not, without sufficient reason, exclude the forgiveness of sins from the number of covenant blessings which Jesus had directly in view. Inasmuch as the sinless Mediator of fellowship with God is conscious of bringing this fellowship about by the impartation of forgiveness (cf. Mark ii. 5–10 ; Luke vii. 47–50), and now desires to perfect this covenant by His bloody self-sacrifice, and that with express reference to a passage of the prophets where the forgiveness of sin forms a climax, it must have been this blessing that He specially had in view here. Hence the addition of Matthew, "unto remission of sins" (Matt. xxvi. 27), touches at least the deepest meaning of the celebration of the Supper.

But however that may be—for the several con-

tested points, inasmuch as they do not affect the essence of the matter, are of no importance here—the Lord's Supper, at any rate, proves that Jesus' certainty as to the necessity of His death must have been gained by revelation some time before. The occasion which called forth the whole wealth of His insight into the significance of His death may possibly have been furnished by the festival itself. But the divine height and breadth and depth of this perception, which sums up in a few words and in a short symbolical ceremony the entire fulfilment of the law and the prophets, does not look like a child of the moment. Such a fulness of conviction, accompanied by the surpassing firmness, certainty, and calmness of His attitude, could only have resulted from the deepest inward experience and mature consideration of the significance of His death before God, and could only have received the stamp of its completion from an immediate divine revelation.

We have now to examine more exactly the psychological explanation, hitherto only touched upon, of the way in which that prophetic certainty regarding the saving significance of His death may have originated. For it could not have been communicated to Him magically, and therefore must have had a connecting link in His soul. As being of a religious nature, it must have had its origin in His moral and religious feeling, for that alone was capable of receiving the revelation that the Saviour of the world must die.

The genesis of this conviction will have to be conceived as follows. In virtue of His first revelation, Jesus knew that men's salvation lay entirely in their love to God. Only in this divine disposition was it possible and lawful for them to partake of the divine nature, and thereby of the true source of life (cf. 1 John iv. 16). But He was certain that the only thing that could induce them to love God was a full knowledge of God's love for them. And He knew, in virtue of a divine revelation, that He was called to proclaim by word and life this heart-transforming love of God in the form of the divine purpose of salvation (John xv. 9-11).

In giving Himself wholly up to this ideal prophetic calling, He learned by experience that men were deeply depraved and alienated from God. Hence it must have become more and more evident to Him that if ever they were to be brought to a knowledge of their inherent wickedness, and converted to God, it could only be by the highest manifestation of divine love. This love, which Jesus knew Himself sent to reveal, must necessarily consist in His surrender of all things, even life itself, for the salvation of His brethren—in His suffering death at the hands of the very men He sought to save.

The sin of man was so great that it could only be conquered by the whole wealth of the love of God, who for their sakes sacrificed His well-beloved and only-begotten Son. This love must victoriously assert itself in its own divine nature, not only in the

deepest suffering and amidst the hatred and contempt of the world, but through that very hatred and contempt reach its highest development, and thus overcome the world by the unfathomable depths of divine love (John xv. 13, iii. 16; Mark viii. 35, x. 45; John xii. 24, cf. 1 John v. 4). The utter worthlessness of egotism and estrangement from God, and again, the value of fellowship with God and the omnipotence of God's love in Jesus, could only have been brought to light by this last result (cf. Rom. viii. 31 ff., v. 8 ff.; John iii. 16). The unbelief of the world must be ultimately overcome by this final sacrifice. Hence Jesus was justified in the conviction that He would gain that victory by the surrender of His life (cf. Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. p. 72 ff.).

These are the thoughts which necessarily represented in more or less developed form the deepest inward experience of Jesus while yielding obedience to His Father's saving purpose. His pure moral and religious feeling could alone have fathomed the depths of human sin and the greatness of the divine grace which became manifest in Himself. It was the correct estimate of the relation of these two elements in His own soul that made Him see the necessity for His own uttermost sacrifice of love. Hence in this genuinely prophetic revelation, judgment and grace blend into one.

To the objective ideas of salvation must have been added subsequent subjective ones, which, on the basis of a divine revelation, made clear to Him the neces-

sity for surrendering His life for man's salvation. Jesus' love for God and man could only have ripened into perfect holiness by an act of faith persisted in to the end (Mark x. 18; Heb. xii. 1-3, v. 6). For this reason also His death was the only thing that could give the highest revelation of the divine love for His brethren.

To Him who understood the inmost meaning of Scripture, this knowledge must have been made clearer and stronger by the example of the Servant of God (Isa. liii. 10-12). The passages which we have already in part referred to show that He really did look back to this example (Matt. xxvi. 54; Mark ix. 12; Luke xviii. 31, xxii. 37, xxiv. 25-27, 44-47). We have already stated that Jesus nowhere else found His own sufferings so plainly typified. And again, He could only have found the idea of the Servant of God and His vicarious sufferings entirely fulfilled in Himself. For only He who was in perfect and continuous fellowship with God, while innocent Himself, took upon Himself the guilt and punishment of those who brought Him to death, in order to procure for them, by His faithfulness unto death, the full forgiveness of sin.

Thus by His death He redeemed many from death (Mark x. 45: cf. Lütgert's admirable development of the idea of "ransom" in *D. Reich Gottes n. d. synoptischen Evangel.*, p. 142 f.).¹ The question as to whether

¹ When, on the other hand, J. Weiss (*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 1892) makes Jesus see in the sin which will destroy His life

the revelation of God in Christ's perfect life might not of itself have been sufficient for redemption, seems to me an idle one. As a matter of fact, God has accomplished that redemption through His death. Hence this certainly was the best way to reach the goal. The question here is how Jesus came to recognise the divine necessity of His death, a knowledge which received, through an inner illumination, the stamp of revelation. Though the way indicated does not claim to be correct in every point, yet it must have lain, at all events, between the two poles of the divine love on the one hand, and human sin on the other. For He knew that He had come to reveal the former, and to destroy the latter, and with it Satan's right and power over men.

Accordingly, the inner reason, and therefore also the necessity of the divine decree that the Messiah should die, are easily understood from this moral and religious standpoint. This death really belonged to the divine plan of salvation, which included the radical victory of God's love over the sin of the world by the giving up of His Son (Rom. viii. 32). However little we may be able to understand the union

the main hindrance to the coming of the kingdom of God, and now, "in a bold paradox," makes Him be seized by the thought "that His death is to be the ransom for the people who have fallen into ruin" (p. 28), this conception does not seem to me to take sufficient account of the psychological medium and soteriological significance of this idea. In opposition to this, Ehrhardt (*Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu*, 1895, p. 104) recognises that Jesus regarded the death which He foresaw "as Saviour and deliverer of souls . . . as an atoning sacrifice offered to God."

of human freedom with divine necessity both in this and other cases, the death of the Saviour of the world cannot possibly be due to an accident of which the contrary might just as well have happened. The fate of the Lord could never have depended on the humour of a Pilate. We must rather confess with Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, that men gained their power over Him only because He was given into their hands by the deliberate counsel and foreknowledge of God (Acts ii. 23).

Though, indeed, that necessity was made known to the Lord by an inner revelation, yet, even for Him, this obedience unto death denoted a climax of His redemptive work that could only be reached by bloody sweat. Hence Gethsemane and Golgotha cannot destroy Jesus' insight into the divine necessity of His death. When Jesus prayed to God, appealing to His omnipotence, that the cup might pass from Him (Mark xiv. 36, and parallels), He no doubt meant the cup of death, and not merely the cup of agony (cf. Jer. xlix. 12). The latter cup is substituted only because we do not like to entertain the idea that Christ was not heard. A short time before however, in presence of the sons of Zebedee, He uses the same word, *ποτήριον*, in the same sense of the cup of death (Mark x. 38).

And when the fourth Evangelist makes Jesus, after the scene in Gethsemane, speak of the cup which the Father has given Him (John xviii. 11), this cup likewise can only be the cup of death.

A similar account is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There Jesus is represented as offering up prayers and supplications, with strong cryings and tears, unto Him who was able to save Him from death (v. 7). Here also, then, the object of His prayer is this deliverance from death. When, however, the author continues, Jesus "was heard in virtue of His piety," or "through His freedom from fear,"¹ the latter conception is self-evident. According to the former, He was of course delivered from death itself, yet manifestly in the sense that He did not remain in death (Acts ii. 24). But Jesus cannot have prayed for that here, but rather to be kept from death. And in this sense He was *not* heard. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems then to have modified, at all events, the significance of the matter, in order to exclude the idea that a prayer of Christ was not heard.

Some endeavour to avoid the admission that Jesus here entreats His Father to deliver Him from death, in the following manner. Immediately before it is said, He prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass away from Him (Mark xiv. 35). This, then, is applied to that hour of agony itself. But it means rather the "hour" of the death sentence (cf. also John xii. 27). That is clear from the whole situation, but is also evident from the fact that Jesus immediately afterwards used this expression unambiguously in the same sense. For He says: "The

¹ "ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλευθείας."

hour is come; behold, the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Mark xiv. 41).

But the expression, "if it be possible" may God let this cup pass away, should not be taken as a conditional clause, in the sense of a real possibility, however far off. He who had just founded the new covenant of the forgiveness of sin in the shedding of His blood and the breaking of His body, and was sure that He would first drink wine again with His disciples in the final kingdom (Mark xiv. 24 f.), could not have thought of this.

Granting the accuracy of the tradition, the statement must be interpreted not logically, but psychologically. It does not express fluctuation of ideas, but convulsion of mind. These feelings were so agonising that they followed neither logic nor logical expression. It is the agonising cry of the heart which is wrestling with God and self about a complete surrender to God's will. Jesus wrestles for strength to bear that which is inconceivably fearful, for a joyful persistence in love towards the men for whose salvation He is to endure the uttermost, and who are just about to murder Him. He passed victoriously through the conflict, and heavenly powers cheered Him on to carry out His resolve. That is the truth declared in Luke xxii. 43.

From this side we reach in another way a result similar to that in the Epistle to the Hebrews. If Jesus could not have thought of any real possibility of escaping death, neither could He, from this strictly

logical standpoint, have prayed for it, but only for power to bear His fate; and then the real hearing of His prayer would be found in His inner strengthening. But this same strictly logical standard does not fit the situation in which Jesus was then placed.

And yet once more He was seized with anguish of soul in a more violent degree; I mean that moment when He exclaimed, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" The genuineness of the exclamation, notwithstanding the Gospel of Peter, cannot be doubted; just because of the dangerous offence it must have contained when superficially understood, and which perhaps may have caused the change in that Gospel, as well as in D, and in the recently-discovered Syrian translation (cf. Holtzmann, *H. C.* 293).¹

Now, many would fain use these words as a proof that Jesus up to that moment had not expected that

¹ Brandt, indeed, as it appears, tries to set aside an articulate cry of that kind altogether. "Where . . . natural feeling is overcome by physical pain, and finds relief in an exclamation, it does not speak in quotations" (p. 240). But it is an arbitrary assumption to suppose that this loud cry could only have been an exclamation extorted by bodily pain. As proof of the contrary, it may be sufficient to point to the story of James Jones, told by himself, to whom a man who had been five hours crucified expressed his pain in an intelligible and objective manner (p. 191 f.). On the other hand, the ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι (Mark xv. 40) should not be strained to mean that the women had stood too far off to understand such words from the cross. The standing far off need not be absolute, but may have been meant in comparison with the soldiers who were standing near the cross. Nay, if those who passed by could abuse Jesus in complete sentences, with the manifest presupposition and intention of being understood by Him (Mark xv. 30), they must also have been able to hear the words of the Crucified.

God would give Him up to death. If this was impossible after the institution of the Supper, it is still less conceivable after He had conquered in the last keen conflict in Gethsemane, and had finally yielded His will to the hardest of all divine decrees.

And then, at the same time, His utterance would have been a declaration of His loss of faith in His Messianic mission. It does, no doubt, express a troubled and disquieted mood of soul. But it cannot possibly mean despair of that cause whose truth is certified in the progress of humanity as the eternally victorious principle of a morally pure religion. That would not only be a historical absurdity, but would contain a flagrant accusation against God. But it is also psychologically impossible. Whoever believes in consistency of character, especially of such a character as that of Jesus, must admit the following. A man such as this, whose purity and believing submission to God are above all praise, could not possibly have been in doubt as to the truth of His mission in any situation of life. This would be still less conceivable after He had long been immovably convinced of it by the clearest and deepest revelation, and from constant uninterrupted intercourse with His Heavenly Father, and after it had been daily and hourly approved, hundreds of times, against all kinds of temptation. Characters less noble and firm in faith have since His day stood firm *in His strength* in spite of fearful torments.

Yet even here, only he who is unable to realise in

thought the most painful moments of Jesus, will measure the exclamation by a cold, logical standard. It again requires to be psychologically, or, properly understood, pathologically interpreted.¹ Jesus did not know, but *felt*, that He was forsaken by God. In this climax of pain His heart could no longer feel God's fellowship, which had been the food of His soul all through life.

The ground of this heaviest weight which burdened His spiritual feeling may be easily understood. We have only to think of the fearful bodily pain, the hopelessness of all human help, the bitter sorrow which the righteous, sensitive conscience must have felt at being cast out as the scum of humanity. But all that is not sufficient. Many martyrs have cheerfully and heroically endured the same. The whole wretchedness of humanity and its dreadful sin and misery must have grieved the Holy One far more. But the triumph of wickedness which had become, as it were, visible to the senses in His own crucifixion, and which was now accomplishing its uttermost in giving up the best of men and the Saviour of sinners to the most shameful death that could be inflicted on a malefactor—this grieved Him most of all. For triumphing it was, in its deadly hostility to the divine purpose of salvation, the carrying out of which Jesus had taken upon Himself for love of men.

We should not entertain the objection which a cold logic raises against this, namely, that Jesus knew

¹ Vorbrodt, *Psychologie des Glaubens*, p. 75, takes a similar view.

His death was to be the very means of victoriously carrying out that plan of salvation. He knew it, no doubt, but He did not feel, did not contemplate it. And contemplation and feeling have an almost overwhelming power over the human being subject to sense, such as He was when He suffered. In the eyes of men, even of His friends, His cause was actually ruined. And with it the cause of God, the triumph of His love, the deliverance of sinners. Their wickedness seemed to have robbed them of their salvation. On the other hand, the consciousness of His final victory rested wholly upon faith and not on sight. Such a situation, where all appearances seemed to be a mockery of Jesus' victory, where He broke down under the power of man's sin and the malice of the devil, where even the personal feeling that God would not abandon Him and His cause was for a moment obscured, contained the severest test of faith.

But He steadfastly maintained His faith until the cup was emptied to the dregs, till He had finished His work, and was able to commit His spirit to His Father's hands. Nay, He clung to God even when He cried, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" The proof already urged by Schleiermacher, and repeatedly advanced since, lies in the words of the psalm itself (cf. Holtzmann, *II. C.* 293). The words, as is well known, are taken from the introductory strophe of the 22nd Psalm. The singer, probably an exile, utters them when, apparently

smitten by God, tormented in body and soul by his triumphant and mocking enemies, he suffers in reality, or in idea, the extremity of pain. Here he possibly feels himself to be the representative of the exiled community, plagued by its heathen enemies (cf. Smend, *Lehrb. d. O. Th. Religionsgeschichte*, 1893, p. 393). It was therefore prayers of the most pious of the old covenant in their hours of fearful conflict with which Jesus' mind was occupied in the moment of His deepest agony. In the cry of him whose soul was in deep waters, but who even then clung to God when He seemed to have forsaken him, He found the expression for the similarity of His own situation and the deepest emotions of His soul. We are therefore justified in laying weight on the beginning of the saying, on the repeated "My God, My God." Jesus could not have appropriated these words if at that moment He had lost the belief that God was still His God, and would remain so. We must remember also that, in the psalm, the singer by his steadfast clinging to God raises himself from the deepest agony to jubilant triumph. This energy of his faith is vigorously expressed two verses after that exclamation, vv. 4-6, and then again, vv. 10-12. But the clear tone of victory and the certainty of being heard echoes from ver. 23 to the end (especially ver. 29). To Jesus, who moved in the Scriptures as in His element, it was scarcely possible, even in the most fearful torture, to quote the beginning of such a song without feeling in anticipation something of

the triumph expressed in the outburst of the psalmist who had become certain of his deliverance. Bornemann, in his *Unterricht in Christenthum*, justly drew attention to this not long ago (3rd ed. § 33, note 4).¹

Now, many admit that Jesus foresaw His death with certainty. But they think that the want of understanding shown by the disciples, and the despair which His death occasioned, can only be explained by supposing that He foretold it in a very indefinite form. Thus, even Holtzmann thinks that the half of the prediction in Mark viii. 31, which is applied to the sufferings, was explained *ex eventu*, and was therefore clothed in more exact expressions (*H. C.* 195). But Jesus did not, in the first instance, expect death from the administration of the national law, but from the priests and scribes as His deadly enemies. Consequently, He must have expected that this would follow in virtue of the condemnation of the Sanhedrim on account of religious offences.² But then would follow the condemnation of the Roman magistrate, who at that time alone had the power of death and life (John xviii. 31). Hence Jesus might very well have foreknown that "the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by

¹ Immer, *Theologie d. N. T.*, 1875, pp. 173 f., has a somewhat different view.

² Brandt's objection to the trial for blasphemy (p. 63) does not seem to be cogent. He appears to me to make far too wide an application of the judicial enactments in the Talmud, which are possibly of later date.

the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be slain" (Mark viii. 31). This holds good also of Mark ix. 31, where we have the same prediction, and even in a shorter form. In the same way, x. 33 has nothing new. On the contrary, the derision, probably also the spitting of ver. 34, and perhaps the scourging also, belong to the later redaction, which looked at the history when finished.

On the other hand, perhaps the very first express prediction presupposes the crucifixion. At least, this inference may be drawn if Jesus originally connected with it the summons to His followers to bear the cross (Mark viii. 34 ff.). If He should be executed according to Roman law, the punishment of crucifixion could have been foreseen from the very beginning, as He was not a Roman citizen (cf. Luke xiv. 27; Weiss, in his *Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. p. 27, expresses a different opinion).

What makes the prediction a prophetic utterance is, moreover, not this outward content, but the inner revelation which imparts to it the certainty produced by God. The particulars have no connection whatever with the real prophetic revelation.

It is, indeed, possible to question whether Jesus' foresight of His death was a prophetic one. It is admitted that His discernment of its being necessary for salvation first gave Him the complete inward certainty of its taking place. It is also admitted that He could only have got this conviction from prayerful intercourse of His heart with God. But

that does not make the expression of it a prediction.

No doubt the proclamation seems to have no bearing on the spiritual welfare of the people which is the motive of prediction proper. For prophecy is wont to aim at the conversion of the nation. But Jesus, in the first instance, uttered the prediction of His death only in the narrowest circle of His disciples. And though He referred to it in the presence of Herod's messengers (Luke xiii. 32 ff.), yet He did not do so with the immediate intention of influencing the people.

One motive for this announcement of Jesus to His disciples certainly was, that He felt the need of imparting to them, as their Friend, the grievous fate awaiting Him (Luke xxii. 28 ; John xv. 14 f.). But that was not the main thing. The motive here also was rather an immediate pastoral one. Jesus desired to prevent the disciples from being led to doubt His Messiahship by the fearful trial. He therefore speaks to them about the necessity of His death only when, in virtue of their express confession of His Messiahship, He deems them capable of bearing it, or at least of understanding it, later on. But He does not defer that communication a moment longer.

An indirect pastoral purpose is connected with this. For He viewed the disciples, with their faith, not only as men and friends, but also as messengers and heirs to His preaching of the kingdom. Viewed in this light, therefore, His announcement was that

of a universal Pastor (cf. John xvii. 20). The predictions of the old prophets were not always addressed directly to the present hearers only. They were often composed in writing, from the first, and were even designed for future generations.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Let us now sum up the result. At a comparatively early period there dawned on Jesus, who did not at first expect nor could have expected death in His vocation, the presentiment that this would be His final fate. Then this presentiment advanced, step by step, to an ever greater probability through His experience of the malicious resistance of His opponents. Yet the absolute certainty regarding it which He manifests at Caesarea Philippi can only have been gained in a prophetic way. For the Messiah, who was at all times certain of the almighty help of His Father, could only have been convinced of His execution in the exercise of His calling after He had recognised its spiritual necessity as a means of perfectly fulfilling that mission. He could only gain this knowledge through His religious feeling, in which God gave an affirmative answer to the question as to whether this was the only way of effecting the salvation of His people. The answer of God contained a simultaneous revelation of judgment and salvation. The certainty of His death contained in this answer proceeded from the

prophetic insight, that the power, the guilt, and the evil of sin, in which men resisted their own salvation, could only be broken by the highest exhibition of the love of God. Seeing that He was destined to be the instrument of this love, He resolved to offer that hardest sacrifice. Jesus' full conviction of the necessity of His death as a sacrifice of Himself, which was finally to conclude and guarantee the covenant of forgiveness of sin and perfect fellowship with God, is demonstrated in His celebration of the Last Supper. Since He therewith recognised, not an imaginary but a true and final saving purpose of God required by man's fallen state, the necessity of the sacrifice, under existing conditions, could not have been a merely relative one, nor could the Lord have regarded it as such. It was not intellectual doubt but the deepest suffering of the soul that assailed Him in Gethsemane. Inasmuch as the discernment of the necessity that He should die was thoroughly prophetic, every expression of it after the day at Cæsarea Philippi bears also the impress of genuine prediction.

Jesus' foreknowledge and foreannouncement of His death proves, therefore, to be a prophetic expression of His consciousness as Messiah and Saviour of sinful humanity. But, on the other hand, the prediction of His resurrection, which we have now to consider, must have proceeded from the same source. It will be shown that the one goes with the other as its necessary correlate. While, how-

ever, it is mainly the genuineness of the more definite form of Jesus' prediction of His death that is here and there assailed,¹ many will not admit a real prediction of the resurrection. It will therefore be our next task to subject this matter to a closer investigation.

¹ Cf., however, Brandt, p. 495.

CHAPTER III



Jesus' Prediction of His Resurrection



CHAPTER III

JESUS' PREDICTION OF HIS RESURRECTION

1. THE FACT OF THIS PREDICTION

STRAUSS comes to the conclusion that Jesus never foretold His resurrection, and that the supposition of His having done so grew out of the disciples' belief in the resurrection.¹ But if, in the passages adduced from Mark viii., ix., x., the prediction of His resurrection is inseparably connected with the announcement of His death, which latter prediction is a certainty, this already furnishes external evidence of the historicity of the former. And if the disciples anxiously discuss the words which Jesus spoke to them when coming down from the Mount of Transfiguration concerning the resurrection of the Son of Man (Mark ix. 9), we are forced to conclude that the impressiveness of this prediction as regards the disciples is at least historical. This, therefore, likewise confirms the fact of the prophecy.

¹ In this matter also, W. Brandt, in his recently published book, *Die evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, p. 495, again adopts Strauss' views.

But, further, its religious content can also be vouched for psychologically. This, even according to the Pharisaic view which was universally prevalent in the days of Jesus, consists in the indestructibility of the personal life by death, in the continuity of life after death. This advance in faith had arisen in opposition to the earlier assumption, that all who died sank for ever into an empty semblance of life in Hades. That deepest content of the idea of resurrection can again be shown, on the authority of the Gospels, to have been the view of Jesus. For resurrection and eternal life are guaranteed to the pious by their connection with the Almighty God of life who loves them (Mark xii. 26 f.). All the more must the Son of God, whose experience of the Father's boundless love was clear and constant, and who had an infallible sense of that connection, have known that God Himself would secure for ever the value of His personal existence and work. He who lived in God, as God lived in Him, must have experienced in Himself the indestructibility and the eternal inherent value of this divine life. Thus, in the giving up of (sensuous) life for the sake of His calling, He perceived, especially with regard to Himself, the way ordained by God for gaining eternal life (Mark viii. 35-37); He hoped to obtain His personal glorification through death itself (John xii. 23).

But the same thing also follows from the standpoint of His Messiahship. He must have despaired

of God's omnipotence, His all-embracing love and omniscience, and, in short, of God Himself, before He despaired of the victory of His cause as the cause of God's kingdom. Hence Jesus could not have grasped the idea of His death, and still less have been certain of its necessity through revelation, without being convinced of the victory of His Messianic mission in and after death.¹ Now, since this mission was viewed by Him as inseparably connected with His person as its perfect organ, He expected that He would lead it to victory in person, unhindered by death (Mark xii. 10 f.). In this way His death became to Him the means of the heavenly completion of His Messiahship, which was necessary to the founding of the perfect kingdom of God. The result of His work could only be perfected after He had passed through death (Luke xii. 49 f.; John iv. 35-38; cf. pp. 33, 37, 38, 45). Having this conviction, He must also have felt that the glorification of the Servant of God in Isaiah was typical of Himself (cf. p. 37). After presenting the priestly expiatory sacrifice for the sins of His fellow-men through death, Jesus here saw Himself assured of a long life of dominion, the prosperity of Jehovah's cause in His hands, and a (spiritual) posterity (Isa. liii. 10-12).

But if He could not believe in His being put to death without, at the same time, being certain of His resurrection, in the literal sense hitherto attached

¹ Cf. E. Ehrhardt, *Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu*, 1895, p. 104.

to it, in order to effect the more glorious founding of the kingdom, neither could He have spoken to His disciples about the first of these kindred revelations and been silent about the other. For this prediction of the resurrection could alone remove the terrible trouble of mind arising from the announcement of death. Hence the tradition, which almost always presents these two predictions of Jesus concerning death and resurrection in the closest connection, is simply the immediate expression of what follows inevitably from Jesus' consciousness of revelation. Accordingly, we can only separate the prediction of resurrection in its essential content from that of death, by sacrificing our belief in Jesus' earnest conviction that He was the Son of God and the Messiah.

The need for completing the historico-critical point of view by the psychological comes out here with special clearness. If we assume that historical criticism cannot say with perfect certainty that Jesus predicted His resurrection, then it is manifest that its decision must depend on psychological considerations. Ideas of Jesus which do not bear the peculiar stamp of His mode of thought must appear, in relation to His most essential nature, to be more or less accidental, even when they are sufficiently vouched for as historical. Those notions, on the other hand, which follow inevitably from Jesus' self-consciousness have the stamp of intrinsic truth. If, therefore, the idea of the resurrection is a necessary

consequence of His thought of death, Jesus must have had it.

In so far, then, as it was in keeping with His calling to leave no essential idea of salvation unexpressed, especially to His disciples, but rather to declare to them all things that He had heard of His Father, "if they were able to bear it,"—words of the fourth Evangelist that are intrinsically true (John xvii. 8, xv. 15, xvi. 12),—He must have said something of that kind. It could only have been the result of accident if there had been no such sayings in the tradition. If, on the contrary, we have, in the material of the original tradition, such statements as that of His resurrection, it would be absurd to contest their authenticity.

The question now is, whether the form at least of the prediction of the resurrection, as handed down by Mark, can be justly called in question. Keim (*Jesus v. Nazara*, ii. 558), Weiffenbach (*Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, pp. 380–384), Holtzmann (*H. C.*, p. 195 f.), and others, do so, because Jesus could only speak in obscure phrases of His expectations of the future. But when the disciples, in reference to their Master's words (Mark ix. 9 ff.), ponder what "the rising from the dead" should mean, Jesus must have said that He would rise from the dead, and cannot merely have mysteriously hinted at it. And yet, again, it is inconceivable that they were ignorant of what was meant by resurrection from the dead in itself. They knew

that, as well as all Jews of that day. These Jews even hoped that Messiah would bring the resurrection (John xii. 24). The truth rather is, that they did not understand the meaning of a resurrection of Messiah, because, for reasons already adduced, they could not see the possibility, far less the necessity of His death (cf. p. 108). Moreover, the more obscure the prediction of the resurrection was, the less it could fulfil its aim, and the more was it out of keeping with the pedagogic tact of Jesus. If, therefore, as is generally recognised, Jesus frames His promise in conformity with the words of the prophet, "After two days will He revive us, and on the third day He will raise us up" (Hos. vi. 2), He probably spoke expressly of a "resurrection on the third day," and not in hints that were quite general. This is the more probable in that He could not help sharing essentially the Pharisaic view of the resurrection which was held by all the pious of the nation (the details of this will be given later). Since this form in which the above genuine religious content was embodied for the Jews does not injure this content, but rather has no bearing on it, one cannot see what could prevent Jesus from accepting it. As He never, so far as we are able to compare His views with those of His time, changed the traditional notions without some special reason, as He does not so much adapt Himself to them as simply adopt them, so is it here. For these reasons, therefore, we must

suppose that He really uttered the prediction in question essentially in the form actually given to it in the Gospels.

Hence the statement of the time of His resurrection probably rests on a correct tradition. In all the main passages, and even in those of Mark, it is found in the wording "after three days" (viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34). If, instead of that, the other Synoptists, as a rule, say "on the third day," the interchange of the two expressions (cf. Mark xvi. 2, 9; Matt. xxvii. 63, and on the other hand, 64) proves that no sharp opposition was felt between them.

If, according to Jesus' statement in Matt. xii. 40, the Son of Man is to be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, this will at least confirm the tradition of Jesus' prediction in relation to the time we mention, although the passage itself, in this form, is an addition of the Evangelist (cf. Luke xi. 30; Fr. Zimmer, *Der Spruch vom Jonazeichen*, 1881; and Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, p. 103 f.). The only reason we could have for contesting the definition of the three days as unprophetic would be that Jesus had meant them literally. That this is not the case will immediately be shown in the discussion of the more exact meaning of the prediction. Since Jesus here refers to that passage of Hosea, the only point in question will be the choice between the wording, "after three days," or "on the third day." In itself there would be no impossibility in supposing that Jesus had twice expressed the triple

number of the days in the same way as the prophet. There we have a so-called enumeration, in which the statement of numbers alternates between "after two days" and "on the third day" (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebraische Grammatik*, 25th ed., 1889, p. 423). And the phrase, "after two days," is expressed by the preposition "min," which in the case of dates originally denotes the starting-point of the enumeration (cf. Gen. xix. 34; Ex. ix. 6; Gesenius' *Hebrew Dictionary*, under "Min"). Now, assuming that Jesus did not express the number in a twofold way, He might likewise have chosen a phrase with "min," which would signify "from three days forwards" = "from the third day forward." That would explain how His enumeration might be understood and reproduced alternately as "after three days," or "on the third day." If the wording "on the third day" was to have settled the moment of the first appearance of the Risen One, it certainly ought to have been the prevailing one.

2. THE MORE EXACT MEANING OF JESUS' PREDICTION OF THE RESURRECTION

What exact meaning did Jesus then attach to the prediction of His resurrection? That depends upon His exact idea about the life after death. A thorough examination of contemporary ideas on the subject is needed, in the first place, to enable us to compare them with that of the Lord.

Ezek. xxxii. 17-32 (cf. especially vv. 18, 21 f., 24) seems to indicate that the idea of Sheol was at first formed from the notion of a general burying-place (Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 418 ff., 420 ff.; Schwally, p. 62, thinks somewhat differently). At any rate, it meant, at first, the abode of the dead, and, in keeping with the development of its concept, was under the earth (Joseph., *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3). When the conviction that the divine requital extended beyond the grave had once taken root, Sheol naturally became also the place of punishment. Only afterward, as "a place for the unclean," can it have been called Gehinnom, after that valley where in earlier days sacrifices were offered unto Baal, and which in later times had become a place for burning things unclean.¹

Moral and religious necessity then demanded a separation of the lot of the pious from that of the godless. From this the division of the common place of abode must have easily originated, though the national consciousness, with its conservative leanings, partly clung to Sheol as the place of abode of all the dead (cf. Joseph., *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 14; *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3). In contrast to this, we find, as early as Ps. xlix. 15, that it is not Hades, but God, that is, Heaven, which immediately receives the pious.² In the Wisdom of Solomon the departed

¹ Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 10; Jer. vii. 31 f., xix. 2-5; Kimchi on Ps. xxvii. 13; Holtzmann, *H. C.* 109; Weber, *l.c.* p. 327.

² The subject of the psalm and the object of the reception cannot be the Church, but only the individual, on account of the contrast with other individuals who are rich and wicked. Cf. especially vv. 18, 20.

saints all go thither. This view, at the time of Jesus, must, according to Josephus, have been represented specially by the Pharisees. And indeed, according to it, the souls of the righteous after death immediately pass into the holiest place of Heaven (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 5). Even Paul imagined this "Gan Eden" or "Paradise" in the (seventh) Heaven (2 Cor. xii. 2, 4). The corresponding view of the Rabbis, which is preserved in the Talmud, must therefore have belonged to the time of Christ at least (Chagiga, 12). According to this, Abraham, who in Macc. xiii. 16 exercises with Isaac and Jacob a kind of lordship over Paradise, comes down from Heaven to Sheol (Erubin, 19^a; Jalkut Chadasch, 35),¹ and Manasseh ascends to Heaven (Debarim rabba, chap. ii.; Bammidbar rabba, chap. xviii.; Weber, p. 328).

At any rate, in the older historical view there is only one Gehinnom for the godless, and one Gan Eden for the righteous, with no intermediate place between them (Weber, p. 327). Even the penitent, so far as these are assumed to exist, spend a long time in Gehinnom, and among these were reckoned at a later period almost all Jews, so that Hell thereby became a purgatory (Chagiga, 15^a; Weber, pp. 326 f., 328, 351).

It is only in the later Cabbalistic theology of the Middle Ages that Gehinnom is not identified with Sheol. That theology recognises, in addition to the

¹ Weber, p. 329. Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, 1891, p. 88.

heavenly Paradise, a lower one, forming one part of Sheol, Gehinnom being the other, which, as the forecourt, is separated from the former by a mere partition.

On the other hand, the "abode of bliss" of the first men cannot have been originally conceived as twofold, or even as under the earth, but as in Heaven. Accordingly, the heavenly Paradise made a second provisional place of abode for the righteous under the earth superfluous. For it served them as a dwelling-place only till the resurrection. After it had come down from Heaven to earth with the Messianic era (Rev. xxi. 1-3, x. 24-27), the dwelling-place of those who are raised from the dead is rather the heavenly glorified earth (cf. Weber, p. 384).

The notion, therefore, of a second Paradise was probably formed only after eternal life was conceived as entirely in another world, in Heaven itself (cf. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 133 f.). The righteous remain in the lower Paradise till the resurrection, when they pass into the upper.

On the other hand, the rewards in Hades, of which the same Josephus speaks (*Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 14; *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3), cannot mean that there was only one heavenly Paradise at the time of Christ, as he⁴ probably accommodated himself here to the Hellenistic view, in the interests of the friendly Romans.

From this heavenly Paradise the souls of the

righteous, not only in the common view of the Pharisees, but also in the Book of Enoch (cf. the passages in Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, 1892, p. 140 f.), the Revelation of John (vi. 19, cf. iv. 1), and elsewhere, return to earth, in order to be fitted, by their resurrection, for taking part in the Messianic kingdom.¹ And this is regarded by Martha, the sister of Lazarus, and by Paul (1 Thess. iv. 15 ff.),—that is, by the contemporaries of Jesus in general,—as taking place at the last day (John xi. 23 f., cf. v. 25, 28), at the day of Messiah. For the resurrection, in keeping with its genesis, signified throughout the equipment of the departed for taking part in the kingdom of perfection into which they then passed. So far as I know, there is no indication that people, in the time of Jesus or at any time, believed in a real final resurrection apart from this preparation for taking part in the kingdom of perfection.²

Now, if we compare the Lord's own view with this, it would seem as though He followed the Pharisees here, as in almost all their eschatological ideas. His

¹ The peculiar Hellenistic phrase of Josephus, that the souls of the righteous are again transferred to pure bodies in the change of æons (*Wars of the Jews*, iii. 8. 5), can only refer to the assumption of the glorified body by the souls which have returned from Heaven at the beginning of the Messianic æon; just as his expression, “ἀναβαίνειν,” and the “passing into another body,” certainly refers, not to a migration of souls (Schwally), but to the resurrection (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3; *Wars of the Jews*, ii. 8. 14).

² Neither the awakening of Lazarus, nor the superstitious fancy, verging on the migration of souls, of the half-Jewish Herod, about the resurrection of the Baptist, is opposed to this, just because neither is to be understood as final.

promise to the thief upon the cross, that "to-day" he would be with Him in Paradise (Luke xxiii. 43, cf. Mark xv. 27), shows, at any rate, that those who were here found worthy were, immediately at death, received into Paradise. This would hold good even though we could not absolutely vouch for the authenticity of the details of that scene. For even the patriarchs, such as Abraham, were with God, though they had not been raised from the dead (Luke xvi. 22, cf. John viii. 56; 4 Macc. xiii. 16). Thus, according to the context, Luke xvi. 22, Lazarus at his death is carried to Abraham's bosom. And this does not form a division of Hades, but lies high and far above it. For there is here a great gulf fixed between them (Luke xvi. 26). The rich man, however, sees Lazarus only afar off in Abraham's bosom, and must raise his eyes to do so (*ἐπάραι*, ver. 23, cf. xviii. 13, for the significance of the word). Hence Jesus must have regarded Paradise as being in Heaven, and Hades as under the earth. Nay, if the rich man can see Abraham and Lazarus, and Abraham again can see him, the agreement with the popular view extends to the smallest details (cf. 4 Esra vi. 61, 66; Schemoth rabba, 6).

At the same time, it appears that Jesus regarded Hades as the same place of punishment which He elsewhere calls Gehenna (Mark ix. 43, 45, 47). This is confirmed by the fact that, as a punishment of its unbelief, Capernaum (Matt. xi. 23) is to be cast down to Hades (against Schwally, p. 175) at the last

day (Matt. xi. 22, 24). As regards the last day, at least, Gehenna can be thought of only as a place of punishment. This is also characterised as being under the earth by the phrase being "cast down." Here, where the question is as to its eternal destiny, the mere rhetorical contrast to the being exalted to Heaven would be inconceivable, especially in the mouth of Jesus, who is an enemy to all untruth, even in expression. Schwally¹ is therefore wrong when he supposes that Gehinnom, even as a place of punishment, denoted at all times only the accursed valley of that name, and did not rather characterise the place of woe as being under the earth.²

Now, if Jesus held that the righteous passed immediately into Heaven at death, how was it that He, who knew that He was more than all the righteous of former days, and who even promised Paradise to the thief who believed on Him, expected to descend first to Hades?

By supposing that He will be there "to-day" personally with him, He unquestionably excludes the idea of a descent into Hades even for Himself. If His soul went there at all, then indeed the going to Hades could have reached its close only through the resurrection. For a passing back and forward of the soul between Heaven and Hades before the resurrec-

¹ So also J. Weiss, *D. Predigt Jesu*, p. 37.

² When, in the Revelation of John, Hades itself is cast into the lake of fire, this can prove nothing in favour of Schwally (p. 175 f.). For that lake is here manifestly a picture of the abolition of the conquered power of death.

tion would be an idea as unbiblical as it is fantastic.¹ His resurrection, however, takes place only on the "third day." The contradiction, therefore, is manifest. If Jesus means to be in Paradise "to-day," He cannot have meant to make a prior descent into the lower world.²

Now, the view of at least one part of the early Christian community was that Jesus passed immediately into Heaven. This is confirmed by the recently discovered fragment of the Gospel of Peter, edited by Harnack.³ For here Jesus is "taken up" (*ἀνελήφθη*, ver. 19) immediately after His dying cry. But, according to the context and linguistic usage, that can only mean the reception into Heaven.⁴ In the same sense Jesus, when dying, commends His spirit into the hands of the Father (Luke xxiii. 46),

¹ If He went into Hades at all, this must have happened immediately after death. But then He must have ascended into Heaven "to-day," that is, taken strictly, in three hours at most (Mark xv. 33 f.), in order to return to the grave after one and a half days. Or is He to be supposed as having gone once more into Hades even before this?

² This expectation of Jesus would be established, according to the above, on the basis of the Bible and of His self-consciousness as the Sinless Son of God Himself, even if the view of the immediate passing of the righteous into Heaven should not absolutely prove to be held by the Pharisees. Thus even Paul, in point of fact, accepted in general the descent of the departed into Hades (cf., however, Phil. i. 23, about which more will be said later).

³ *Fragment of the Gospel and of the Apocalypse of Peter*, Leipzig 1893, Heinrichs.

⁴ Cf. *ἀνάληψις*, Luke ix. 51; *ἀνελήμφθη*, Acts i. 2; and the phrase completed with the words "into Heaven," *εἰς οὐρανόν*, in Acts i. 10, 11, and Mark xvi. 19. Cf. also in the same sense, but without the latter addition, Acts i. 22, cf. x. 16. Cf., with the addition "into glory," *ἐν δόξῃ*, 1 Tim. iii. 16; cf. also Brandt, p. 543.

to whom also, according to the fourth Evangelist, He “now” wishes to go (John xvi. 5, 7, 17, cf. xiv. 2 f.)—words which he spoke to His disciples immediately before the catastrophe. Consequently, if Jesus expected to go to the Father immediately at death, His resurrection could not have had this aim. If, on the contrary, it had to prepare one for taking part in the kingdom of perfection (cf. pp. 38 f., 42 f.), the Lord could not have expected to take part in that kingdom Himself before the moment in which He appeared to enter on His Messianic reign. This was really what the disciples assumed concerning the Risen Lord (Acts i. 6).

If, then, as we have seen, it has been critically established¹ that He would rise from the dead after three days, this can only signify, after what has been said, the period that must elapse before He can set up the kingdom, and that in the sense of “a short time.”

In the passage which originates this expression, Hosea understood the time in precisely the same way (vi. 2 ; cf. Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. p. 76). Had Christ, on the contrary, taken the statement of time literally, then we should have had an act of soothsaying foreign to Him, in place of a prediction worthy of Him. This meaning of the phrase “three days” in Jesus’ mouth may also be confirmed by a similar use which He makes of it elsewhere. Thus, He announces to Herod, when about to set out for Jeru-

¹ Cf. the preceding division.

saalem, that He must work to-day and to-morrow, and "on the third day" He will be perfected (Luke xiii. 32; cf. also Brandt, p. 429). Here, undoubtedly, it signifies a short interval, which may, in Jesus' mind, have represented several weeks.

In the same manner He had predicted that He would destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days would build another not made with hands (Mark xiv. 58). Both the context of the passage and the repetition of it as an accusation in Mark xv. 29, and also in the trial of Stephen (Acts vi. 14), indicate that Jesus really couched that well-known utterance pretty much in this, and not in the milder form given by John (ii. 19), according to which He challenges His opponents to destroy the temple. The words have been so well preserved just because they were spoken shortly before the arrest of Jesus. Thus He here declares Himself to be the One who seeks to found a new spiritual worship of God, after the abolition of the old external cultus which was essentially connected with the temple (cf. Matt. xi. 13).¹

¹ His own context contradicts the fourth Evangelist's exposition of Jesus' death and resurrection (John ii. 21 f.). For Jesus has just given the symbolic proof of His claim to the dignity of a thorough religious reformer by the purification of the temple. He feels certain of the necessity of this renewal even as early as Mark ii. 21 f. That must put an end to the whole temple service in its old form. And this idea is confirmed by that celebrated passage of John's Gospel (iv. 21-24), in which He likewise predicts that God will be no longer worshipped in Jerusalem, but will be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

Consequently, when He promises to effect this complete reformation within "three days," this means strictly the interval between then and the setting up of the kingdom, an interval which He elsewhere describes as ending "within this generation" (Mark ix. 1, xiii. 30).¹ From all this it appears that His prediction of the resurrection was, in the first place, meant as an assurance that death would not destroy His personal life, but would set it free for an eternal life. But it meant, in the second place, that He would in a short time rise from the dead for the purpose of setting up His kingdom.

As this conviction has nothing to do with mathematical certainty, but with prophetic foresight, we can easily understand how He chose to clothe it in the words of a passage where the prophet trusts that God will shortly revive and set up the wounded and bruised.

A few words more, in closing, with reference to the more definite form in which Jesus may have imagined the event and the circumstances of His resurrection. We may suppose that He agreed with the more spiritual form of the common Pharisaic notion (cf. Weber, p. 353) in viewing the resurrection as a transformation of the body, or its remains, into the form of the glorified body (Mark xii. 25, cf. Matt. xiii. 43). This, indeed, was necessary for life on the glorified earth.² He could scarcely have imagined this pro-

¹ We shall deal with this latter definition of time farther on.

² The details on this point will be given in chap. iv. 2c.

cess as something different from the corresponding transformation of those who survived. He could scarcely have avoided the thought of this transformation in reference to those bystanders who were to live to see the consummation of God's kingdom (Mark ix. 1). The emphasis and the certainty with which Paul, in 1 Cor. xv. 50 f., speaks of the transformation as "a mystery," becomes conceivable only if based on corresponding words of the Lord. And since he expressly traces back to a saying of the Lord, the consolation which he offers to the Thessalonians, namely, that they which are alive and remain to the second coming, shall not prevent them that are asleep (1 Thess. iv. 15), Jesus must have referred to the form in which the survivors would assume the new body with which to meet the Lord (1 Thess. iv. 16-18). Of course he thought of this revival or change in a spiritualised fashion. For the new body is angelical and exalted above the mere material and sensuous (Mark xii. 25). This alone corresponds to the fact that the resurrection takes place in the power of God (Mark xii. 24), by means of the spirit returning not from Hades but from Heaven.

But, on the other hand, Jesus does not regard the likeness of the risen ones to angels as in any way abolishing the glorification of their earthly body. This remains the substratum of the change (Phil. iii. 21, cf. Matt. xvii. 2). As men never can become angels, but can only be *as* the angels, neither can they receive the bodies of angels, which, as a matter

of course, have nothing to do with earth, but only bodies like them.

It is in keeping with this that Jesus, like His contemporaries, assumed that the body to be revived was that which was lying in the grave. He is convinced that He can only obtain the full fruits of salvation when He has passed through death, burial, and resurrection, just as the corn of wheat must be cast into the earth and die before it can bring forth much fruit (John xii. 24, cf. v. 28).

Thus the Gospels throughout confirm the fact, which already follows from His human and prophetic nature, that He adopted substantially the entire form of the Pharisaic view of the resurrection, even in respect to His own person. This is likewise true of the time at which He expected His resurrection. For no religious interest was connected either with the form or the time of this preparation for taking part in the final kingdom. On the other hand, these very two points correspond exactly to the connections in which, as we pointed out in the introduction, prophetic knowledge has its necessary limits. Hence even the judgment of Jesus could not be authoritative on these points.¹ This brings us to the question of the relation between the prediction of the resurrection and its fulfilment.

¹ With reference to the "time," cf. M. Vernes, *Histoire des idées Messianiques*, Paris 1874, p. 233.

3. THE PREDICTION OF THE RESURRECTION AND
ITS FULFILMENT

We have seen that what Jesus specially desired to impress on His disciples by the prediction of the resurrection was His continued existence in a divine glorified form as a victorious Messiah. All believers in Christ know that this was splendidly fulfilled. This eternally valid religious content of the prediction is the life-giving object of our faith and the ground of our hope.

But how does it stand with Jesus' notion of the form, the circumstances, and the time of His resurrection, in which no authoritative knowledge belonged to the prophet as such? (Cf. p. 17 f.) To answer this question we have only to sum up what has already been discussed.

Let us first of all keep in view that He assumed the resurrection would be in a glorified body. Though the advance of knowledge in metaphysics, natural science, and psychology has made many things clearer to us than they could have been to an earlier generation, yet we must admit our ignorance as to the exact nature of the form of existence in the other world. We cannot, therefore, maintain with absolute certainty either that we need or that we do not need a body for our future existence. My personal conviction that we shall receive a new glorified body is based on the finitude of man as such. To me, his body represents the organic union

of the instruments which mediate and render possible the intercourse of the spirit with the outer world. He does not, indeed, need the body for his intercourse with God. For God is everywhere and at all times present with him as the deepest ground of his existence, surrounding and preserving him. But he needs a microcosm for the reciprocal relation between him and the macrocosm, because he does not, like God, contain the world in himself; but rather the world, and that, too, as something external to him, contains him in itself. Accordingly, there is a deep truth in the view of Scripture that we are to obtain the new body along with the transfiguration of the whole external world. For the body can only mediate intercourse with it in so far as it is adapted to it, though not of like nature. We need, therefore, a glorified body for the glorified world.

If Jesus were absolute, not only in the religious but also in the metaphysical sense, so that, like God, He filled and penetrated all in all, then a new body for Him would be meaningless and a self-contradiction. But it would also be unbiblical. For not only in accordance with reason, but according to Jesus' express statement, God must be thought of, in contrast to us men, as (pure) Spirit (John iv. 24). Yet we must suppose that Christ has such a body as corresponds to the divine elevation of His nature and His religious position of Lordship (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 40-42).

If, then, Jesus presupposed the absolute reviving of *the buried body*, we would hardly be able to

assent. For the material atoms which compose the old body must have been completely dispersed among innumerable millions of men after so many centuries, and after serving as constituent parts of many hundreds of bodies in succession. Such a notion would be simply impossible to the scientific knowledge of the present day. This consideration, however, could not have had so much force in the case of Jesus, because He expected the resurrection in His own generation.¹ Moreover, this question, as such, lay outside His interest, and therefore also outside His independent reflection.

We must also confess our ignorance with respect to another pertinent point. So far as I see, our knowledge is too limited to enable us to decide whether our future life will be spent only in the heavenly sphere of the other world, or also on the glorified earth. Jesus, as the Risen One, hoped to set up His final kingdom on this earth, as we will have to prove more definitely in chap. iv. But, as the question has no immediate religious value, it also lies beyond the reach of our faith. Jesus, however, could not have had any authoritative conception of it, as the subject only concerns the outer form of His belief in the resurrection. On that very account, again, He had no occasion to deviate from the opinion of His pious contemporaries, who expected those who rose from the dead to inhabit the glorified earth.

¹ Cf. Haller, in Gottschick's *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, ii. 3, pp. 286, 292.

Finally, the time which He assumed for His resurrection, as being also a matter of no immediate religious interest, is not a subject of divine revelation. If He, therefore, with His contemporaries, conceived it as the transition to the setting up of the kingdom, this borrowed view could not have been absolutely authoritative.

On looking back, we find that the fulfilment of the religious content of the prediction of the resurrection is an incontestable fact to the believing mind. We might even suppose that Jesus, on returning to the Father, received the new body in order to rule His heavenly dominion. However, even as regards His own person, He could not have had any absolute certainty about the exact forms and circumstances¹ of the future eternal life, either in respect to its beginning or to its continuance, or to the time when the spirit will receive the new body. Hence, so far as we can see, He did not make the clothing with the latter directly subservient to His Lordship over Heaven, but rather to His heavenly Lordship over earth.² Hence, also, He expected His resurrection only for the sake of His second coming and with it. Accordingly, in the true manner of the prophet, He assumed the moment of the former to be nearer than it was, in so far as He regarded it as mediating the setting up of the final kingdom, and believed the

¹ Cf. p. 10 f.

² Details of this heavenly Lordship over earth will be given in chap. iv.

latter to be nearer than it was. But if we presuppose the objectivity of the outward second coming, He, on the other hand, believed His corporealisation to be farther off than the fact proved to be.

4. THE ORIGIN OF THE DISCIPLES' BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS ON THE THIRD DAY

This brings us to a very important misunderstanding of the apostles as regards their conception of Jesus' resurrection. As this conception contains the full religious truth, though in a form not quite adequate, the most magnificent blossoms and fruits of faith must, notwithstanding, have proceeded from this kernel. For all that, it cannot be denied that the disciples understood literally Jesus' prediction of His resurrection on the third day. Even Paul, the more cultured Rabbi, is no exception in this, as he manifestly agrees with them in referring the fulfilment of Hosea's prediction to the third day. He would otherwise have necessarily felt a contradiction between the resurrection of Jesus on the third day and that prophecy, which he does not seem to have done (1 Cor. xv. 4). Notwithstanding the metaphorical sense of this date, in the mouth of Hosea and of the Lord, a freer conception of such passages and words, especially by the unlearned disciples, was scarcely conceivable, considering the superficial methods of exposition commonly adopted by the scribes in the days of Jesus.

In consequence of that misunderstanding, however, they must necessarily have expected Jesus' resurrection on the third day. This hope, indeed, might only have slumbered in their inmost heart. But yet there can have been no other object of their inmost longings, the ardour of which kindled their feeling and laid hold of their thought, all the more that they had at first to wrestle with the most fearful temptations and the most terrible despair of total unbelief. For Weizsäcker, Keim, Weiss (*Life of Jesus*, iii. 338), Steude (*Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, p. 76 f.), and others, are right in supposing that the disciples' belief in the divinity of their Saviour, as it originated with God and was genuine, must in the end have prevailed. For God's power is the prevailing influence in the heart of the sincere man. It must have overcome their doubts as to His Messiahship which were called forth by His death.

But if their faith in the buried Messiah was renewed, it could only be so as faith in the resurrection. I shall shortly prove this expressly, but presuppose it here provisionally, in order not to mar the clearness of our reasoning. The moment, again, in which the new-born belief in Messiah as belief in the resurrection gained the upper hand, the disciples must have remembered the prediction of their Master, the greatest of all prophets, that He would rise from the dead on the third day. Bound as they were to the literal methods of exposition of

their time, they could do nothing else than secretly hope, though with fear, for the resurrection on the third day.

But, considering the bodily and mental strain and excitement of the disciples, we can easily understand that they may have had appearances of the Risen One that were purely subjective. We can understand this the more easily when we take into account the peculiar temper of their time, the excitability of which called forth a decided tendency to a onesided manifestation of fancy. This tendency would seek to reflect in those images the victorious awakening of faith.

Holsten's assumption, that an appearance of Christ as a vision so shortly after His execution is an impossibility (cf., e.g., Holsten, *Die Messiasvision des Petrus*, p. 125), cannot be entertained. For "the tradition that Jesus rose from the dead on the third day can only have arisen in virtue of the fact that appearances occurred on that day" (Weiss, *l.c.* iii. 389).¹ It has also been justly urged that this is confirmed by the early Christian observance of Sunday (1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10; Acts xx. 7; Epistle of Barnabas xv.; Justin's *Apology*, i. 67; cf. Keim, iii. 550; Beyschlag, i. 441).

¹ Brandt's construction of this fixed time seems to be unnatural, when we remember that Paul, who could only have got it from the fresh tradition of the early communities, expressly traces back the resurrection on the third day to that tradition, and demands too low an estimate of the power of memory and the conscientiousness of the whole apostles (cf. Brandt, p. 430).

The disciples, notwithstanding their fearful disappointment, were still unable to give up all faith and hope, but continued to hope from day to day and *from hour to hour* for a miracle (Steude, *D. Aufersteh. J. Ch.*, p. 121).¹

At any rate, the belief in the resurrection must have existed in germ before the supposed appearances of Christ. Even if these appearances were bodily, that faith was the indispensable presupposition of their being recognised as a divine revelation, and not as a delusion of Satan (2 Cor. xi. 14). For the Lord Himself says, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead" (Luke xvi. 31). And the account of the fourth Evangelist shows that the belief in the resurrection really existed before any appearance of Christ to Peter and John, the first witnesses of the resurrection (John xx. 8). But if this belief existed, we cannot point-blank deny that it may have been a means of producing visions of Christ.

This abstract possibility, however, is far from disproving the corporeity of Christ's appearances. I shall now have to deal more fully with this point, because it forms at present one of the most important controverted points of the resurrection question. I hope to be able to do this in an

¹ The *objective* corporeity of the resurrection, as will be shown, is in no way to be excluded by this account of the *subjective* genesis of *belief* in it. (The italics are mine.)

impartial way, because I am conscious of having the greatest interest in maintaining the content of faith unimpaired, while, on the other hand, I take up an impartial attitude towards whatever does not exhibit any special religious value. I have not, therefore, the least prepossession for or against purely historical results as such. Since the all-important thing for faith is to show wherein saving value lies and wherein it does not lie, I have subjected this very question of value to a thorough examination. An actual unprejudiced fixing of the historical facts will only be possible when Christians are at one on this point.

From this standpoint, which fears no danger for faith where there is none, I feel bound, in the interests of clearness and truth, to concede some things which believing Christians have not hitherto been wont to grant. For only after all the defective reasons for the corporeity of Christ's appearances have been refuted, is the way opened for that proof which, so far as I can see, is alone of convincing power. On this, if on any, their objective reality must be based, and on this I myself ground it.

5. THE CORPOREITY OF CHRIST'S APPEARANCES

(a) Their Possibility

There can be no doubt whatever as to the fact of Christ's appearing. Paul, Luke, and John, and

even Matthew, as well as the supplement to Mark, a secondary source, no doubt, are at one in this, that Jesus appeared to the Eleven on the evening of Easter Sunday. Nor is there any ground for questioning the appearance to Peter which is reported by Paul and Luke, and which preceded the appearance to the Eleven. Even the appearance of Christ to Paul himself is established beyond all question. And the three other instances, mentioned by him in the fifteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians, are assuredly to be regarded as genuine (vv. 5-8).¹

Again, so far as I can see, no one can maintain the impossibility of bodily appearances of Christ, although some presuppose rather than prove their impossibility (cf. Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, iii. 391; Steude, p. 20; Beysehlage thinks differently, i. 458). Human knowledge is too defective to be allowed to contest the possibility of supersensuous spirits being able to act upon our sensuous world. Our own supersensuous spirits constantly make themselves perceptible to one another by sensuous influences. But the spirits of the other world as such are similar to those of this world.

As finite spirits, which they still remain, they would probably, like ourselves, require a special organic instrument for this purpose. But we might suppose that they had at their disposal, though

¹ Even W. Brandt recognises the historicity of the appearances adduced by Paul, with the exception of the appearance to the Twelve (p. 418), the counterpart of which he traces back to the fabrication of Matthew (p. 351 ff.).

conditionally, a kind of corporeity in the higher sense. Of course, *we* cannot enter into direct intercourse with the spirits of a higher sphere. But it does not necessarily follow that this intercourse could not take place from out that sphere which, as we may well assume, comprehends our lower one.

If the forms in which things in themselves appear to us can only express their essence so far as a conception of that essence is possible to the special nature of our sensuousness, this would also hold good for the spirits of the other world. Yet I do not see why these, if they really act upon our world, should not make themselves perceptible in a way that would at least be a more or less adequate presentation of their nature.

This possibility cannot be questioned even in the case of Christ's spirit which had gone to the Father. Still less can this be done on the supposition of His divinity. But all these considerations do not of themselves carry us far. For, on the other hand, we cannot at once absolutely assert even the possibility of such appearances, because we know too little of the nature of spirits in the other world.

And, finally, it is questionable whether they really exercise such an influence. It seems to me that in no single case has this been proved with certainty. On the other hand, innumerable appearances of spirits have turned out to be products of imposture

and self-deception, or of a mental disorder of a partial kind at least in the person who saw them. Accordingly, experience furnishes us with no clearly proved analogy to a bodily appearance of Christ. Thus it must, for the present, remain uncertain whether God has made an exception here. At any rate, He would not do so without a special purpose. Now, though a sufficient reason for a bodily appearance of Christ will be shown later on (cf. "*h*"), yet this could not have been that a belief in the continuance of Jesus' Messianic life might not otherwise have arisen. We have already seen that this belief existed before the Christophanies (John xx. 8; cf. p. 90, and the further discussion of the historical value of the belief in the resurrection in "*g*").

Moreover, it was only a small circle whose faith was the result of seeing, while we, and all others, see not and yet believe. This proves that seeing with the eyes is not indispensable to faith, or at least in a very limited sense.

Further, as sense has nothing at all to do with faith directly, since this, as will be more exactly shown, rather originates only in the heart, an appearance of Christ could, in any case, have done no more than support the genesis of faith in the resurrection, for the faith itself must necessarily have had a different origin. And the objective vision which, as will be shown ("*b*"), the apostles would have taken for a bodily appearance, would of itself fulfil

this purpose. Now, if such visions as we have pointed out (p. 89) were easily conceivable in the temper of the disciples already described, it must in the meantime remain questionable whether we are not to see these visions in the actual appearances to the disciples.

(b) The Historical Guarantee for the Bodily Appearances of Christ

Since the possibility of a bodily appearance of Christ can neither be called in question without hesitation, nor definitely affirmed, the question comes to be, whether this appearance can be regarded as having a sufficient historical guarantee. If this can be proved, then we would have to recognise it, even if we were unable to conceive the possibility and necessity of such a fact.

But it seems that this proof cannot be given with certainty. This can be shown even with regard to that phenomenon which is frequently urged as an incontestable proof of the corporeity of Christ's appearances; I mean that appearance to five hundred brethren, which in point of fact is guaranteed as the experience of a great number of men (1 Cor. xv. 6). It is thought that we may set aside the supposition that such a number of witnesses, some of whom were still alive, could all have been mistaken when they believed that they saw the Risen One bodily.

Now, it was even then difficult to prove that the five hundred were accurately counted, and that they all gave, not merely an honest, but an impartial testimony. But we will for the present assume this. Further, I shall leave entirely out of account the fact that even then it was not possible to make out with certainty whether they all saw the same or only a similar appearance.

But even though we admit this, it should not in any way be regarded as an absolute guarantee for the objectivity of the form which they saw. For it is well known that the fact of men being in this precise frame of mind, excited and absorbed in themselves, especially when they are gathered together in masses, only serves to promote the communication of ecstatic and visionary conditions. We have only to think of the Jansenist enthusiasts (Kurtz, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 293), the enthusiastic fanaticism of the Crusaders, many of the visions among the Catholics, and the spiritualism of our own day. Any kind of extreme spiritual tension has a contagious effect on men of an excitable nature both for good and for evil. If the excitement of feeling goes beyond a certain degree, fanatic impulses of a noble and ignoble kind appear, and the creations of overstrained fancy more and more abound. And here, indeed, the concentration of men's feelings on the same subject begets a similar illusion. For when the prevailing mood of many is similar, its projection must also be similar. And

so they all speedily suppose that they are seeing the same thing.¹

Yet this in no way prevents such a vision from possessing a thorough objective content of truth. But of that we do not speak here. The point in question at present is, whether, in the given circumstances, it must not be admitted as possible that the form of Christ's appearance was only a subjective product. And this possibility cannot, to begin with, be contested. That, however, does not, of course, exclude the opposite possibility. Accordingly, as the difficulty cannot be solved in this way, we are compelled to investigate the evidence which ultimately guarantees what actually happened, and therefore also the reality of the bodily appearance of Christ.

In matters of this kind, the question finally concerns the reliability of the eye and ear witnesses of the event. The historical guarantee of the alleged genuine appearances of Christ is now in a certain respect very reliable. Here, I of course except the details which are by no means free from error and in part very materialistic. Yet if we fix our attention on the fact of the appearances themselves, we shall be able to show that all reports of them can be traced with great probability to Paul, and through him to the immediate narratives of the apostles

¹ With regard to the infectiousness of visions and their peculiarity from this point of view, I may refer to the abundant literature quoted by Keim, iii. 587-592.

who themselves had the vision. Above all, Peter, the head of the Christian community, will be its surety. It would carry us too far to establish this in detail here, and it is scarcely questioned by critical experts.

But if Peter and Paul become security for the reality of the appearances, they cannot absolutely guarantee what is here of main importance, namely, their corporeity. For in such extraordinary events even Paul's judgment cannot be depended upon. Even this philosophic intellect viewed as objective realities events which every unprejudiced thinker nowadays estimates as taking place within the soul. Even with regard to his well-known ecstatic visions, he has no doubt as to the outward objectivity of the event, but is only uncertain as to whether he was caught up into Paradise in the spirit or in the body (2 Cor. xii. 2 f.). Now, how should this man, who thinks it possible for a living man to be caught up into Heaven, hesitate to suppose that the heavenly Christ appeared to him in an embodied personality, even though the appearance was only subjective in its *form*. We shall immediately have a special discussion of the appearance at Damascus, on account of its unique significance. Yet the knowledge of the position which Paul takes up towards his visions in general may enable us to estimate the psychological childlikeness of less cultured people, such as even Peter and the rest of the apostles. The more firmly they held the kernel of religious truth in

the appearances, namely, that Jesus lives as a victorious Messiah, the firmer must have been their belief in the reality of the form which they could not separate from it. And of course they, as well as Paul, must have viewed it as an outward objective reality.

If the content had been untrue, they would likewise have taken the vision, in this reality and significance, for an outward event, but in that case for a Satanic one (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 13-15). We must not forget that even the great Luther still believed in the personal intercourse of men with diabolical powers.¹ We cannot, therefore, regard as *absolutely* authoritative the judgment of the apostles, or even of Paul, as to whether such occurrences were purely inward or outward at the same time.

The Appearance to Paul near Damascus

Still, it is thought that there are psychological reasons which force on us the conviction that the appearance to Paul on the way to Damascus was a bodily appearance. If that be so, then the assumption of a merely subjective vision, both in the case of Paul and in that of the primitive apostles, at once falls to the ground.² The fact that Paul, a

¹ Cf. Köstlin, *Luther's Leben*, i. p. 471, and Freitag, *Doctor Luther*, 1884, p. 81f., as well as the long passage in Roskoff's *Geschichte des Teufels*, about Luther's position in this matter.

² When W. Brandt (*l.c.* p. 501 ff.) represents the disciples, whose love for their Master was not destroyed, as being filled with an eager

professed enemy of Christ, became a man who sacrificed his whole life to Christ in a strength of faith which overcame the world, cannot be explained by an appearance which in form and content was a mere imagination. If the belief in Christ is a truth, then it can only have been awakened in the man's heart by the immediate intercourse of the living God, or of Christ. Whether, therefore, the appearance at Damascus was bodily or not, this at any rate was its religious content, that God revealed His Son in Paul's heart, exhibited Jesus as the victorious Messiah exalted to Himself, and thereby called him who was an opponent to be His apostle (Gal. i. 15 f.). Hence it is plain that it must at least have been an objective vision which contained this objective revelation.

Holsten, in his controversy with Beyschlag, does not give due weight to the fact that the activity of God cannot be thought of as merely immanent, but must rather at the same time be conceived as transcendent.¹

longing to see Him, which was awakened by a study specially of Ps. lxxxvi. 12, 13, and ex. 1, 2, and was then intensified by fasting and prayer into the enthusiasm in which Peter first saw Him, he not only denies the significance of the Lord, but also the inner truth of all prophetic revelation (cf. p. 507 f.), according to which the living God does really enter directly into converse with the pious. The founding of the early Church, whose love and truth were of an exemplary kind, upon a self-deception of enthusiasts, whose piety was by no means sound, is a historical absurdity.

¹ Holsten, *Zum Ev. des Paulus u. Petrus*, pp. 38, 63-66; cf. Hansrath, *N. Tliche Zeitgesch.*, 1872, ii. p. 445. Opposite views are advocated by Beyschlag, *Stud. u. Kr.*, 1864; *Die Bekehrung des Apostels Paulus*, p. 197 ff.; the same, *Die Visionshypothese in ihrer Neusten Begründung*, 1870-71; cf. his *Leben Jesu*, 1887, 2nd ed., i. 437 ff.

God's unquestionable activity in the world, even as manifested in the human heart, must therefore be at the same time supramundane, since He is in Himself a supramundane Spirit. Holsten himself, however, recognises that Paul, "like every religious man, felt the new spirit of life flowing from the transcendent source of the Divine Spirit" (Holsten, p. 44).

On the other hand, Beyschlag fails to realise that the conditions existed for a vision of Christ on the part of Paul, a fact which Holsten and Hausrath in the main strikingly prove (cf. Hausrath, in particular pp. 445-451).

One cannot immediately disprove the possibility that the appearance to Paul at Damascus was a vision, by the fact that he himself distinguishes it from the ecstatic visions which he knew to be such. He does not even regard these as visions in the sense of mere subjective and inward events, but rather, as we saw (p. 98), ascribes to them an objective, outward reality. But when, in 1 Cor. xv. 8 f., he singles out from these the appearance at Damascus, he likewise has sufficient reason for doing so. The overpowering inward revelation with regard to the Messiahship of Jesus (Gal. i. 15, 16; 2 Cor. iv. 6), and the call to the apostleship connected therewith (1 Cor. xv. 9, ix. 2, cf. 1 Tim. i. 12 f.), must have made it in his eyes equal to that given to the original apostles (cf. Luke xxiv. 47-49; Acts i. 8).

There can be no doubt that Beyschlag is also right in regarding Paul's conversion as inconceivable without an immediate interposition of God. This holds good of every conversion, and in a special way of his. But though such a change of heart can only be brought about by God's power, it does not immediately follow that that power could not have converted Paul without a bodily appearance of Christ. If the change in itself had been psychologically impossible, such a Christophany would not have effected it (Luke xvi. 31). It could at most have furthered the faith which had inwardly arisen, but in no way have called it forth.

We must rather acknowledge that the super-human power of the faith of Christ's disciples could not, in the end, have failed to impress its truth on this enemy of Christ, distinguished as he was for his genuine religious feeling and love of truth. Neither his zeal for the righteousness of the law, whose adversary he at first recognised and withstood in Jesus, nor the grievous stumbling-block of the death upon the cross, could in the long run have hindered him from recognising Jesus as Messiah.

His own experience had painfully taught him the impossibility of keeping the law by his own power (Rom. vii. 7-24). The idea, however, that a perfectly righteous one could vicariously fulfil the law, and through his atoning death make the sinner righteous before God, not only had its roots in the Scriptures themselves, but arose at the same time

on genuine rabbinical soil (cf. Weber, *Die Lehre des Talmud*, pp. 301, 280 f., 286, 313 ff.). Hence this idea, which we find so vigorously developed by him at a later period, must, as soon as it arose, have been welcome to his deepest longings.

And there were abundant occasions to suggest it in his own special surroundings. For then there lived in the hearts and on the lips of all believers the praise of Jesus the Messiah, as the blameless Servant of God, whom God had given up as a sin-offering for the salvation of His people, in order to confer on Him afterwards a long life and a sovereign position, and through Him to accomplish the Lord's purpose (Isa. liii.; Acts iii. 13 f., 18, 26, iv. 27 f., 30). In this way, the truth that the crucified Jesus was really the Servant of God who was to bring forgiveness and a time of salvation to His people lost in sin, was more and more brought home to his heart with its thirst for justification with God (Acts iii. 19 f.; Weber, pp. 333-336). But as it was just the death of the Messiah that produced that atonement, the offence of His crucifixion fell to the ground of itself.

Nor was there any psychological impossibility in the actual moment of his conversion, namely, when he was just about to persecute the Christians of the Diaspora, even in Damascus, especially if, as Beyer-schlag himself admits, he was "already in his inmost soul seeking after Him (Christ) without knowing it, and was reaching out towards Him" (*Leben Jesu*, ii. 486).

Finally, if we suppose it, at any rate, conceivable

that Paul may have got a vision of the crucified but not of the glorified Christ, we must remember that the faith which gave its content to his vision of Christ was originated by the conviction of the Christians whom he persecuted. These, however, proclaimed Jesus as the living Messiah, risen from the dead and exalted into Heaven. After the truth of this fact dawned on him, the vision could only have placed before him this Christ exalted to divine glory whom he was persecuting in His disciples. And that is just what it did. Moreover, before his own eyes, Stephen, in whose martyrdom he had taken part, had seen, in ecstasy, Jesus standing at the right hand of God. That would render intelligible the form of Christ which appeared to him, if we take it as visionary.

Accordingly, such a vision on the part of Paul as is described in his Epistles (1 Cor. ix., xv ; Gal. i., ii. ; 2 Cor. iv., etc.), and the Acts of the Apostles, is very possible in the situation in which he was placed.¹ Only we must not forget that all this merely proves that the appearance of Christ might possibly have been, but by no means that it really was, a vision.

(c) *The Abstract Possibility of the Vision of the Christ
who rose from the Grave*

But even though we were prepared to admit the vision hypothesis in the sense described, we would

¹ The variations in the reports are of no importance here.

not require to acknowledge what some of its advocates maintain, that the Christ who appeared to Paul, and originally also to the Jewish Christian apostles, was only the glorified Christ, and not the Christ who rose from the grave (Holsten, *Die Messiasvision des Petrus*, 1889, pp. 121, 128 ff.). This assumption cannot be proved, even in the case of Paul (cf. Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i. 448 f.). For, in 1 Cor. xv. 4, the burial of Jesus appears between His death and resurrection, and, directly connected with them in a continuous and integral fashion, is represented, just like them, as an essential part of the tradition alongside the other main facts of our salvation. Here, then, it is impossible to regard the resurrection as a mere endowment with a heavenly body, which would have nothing whatever to do with the earthly one lying in the grave. We must rather admit that it is to be conceived as a coming forth of the body from the grave. And we must admit this all the more that Paul's conception here in no way differs from that of the primitive apostles. Otherwise he would not be able to appeal to them so expressly and in the way he does in vv. 3 and 11. The assumption, however, that they also had originally regarded the Christ who appeared to them as the heavenly glorified Messiah, and not as the Christ who had risen from the grave, is utterly without biblical support. But even as a Pharisee, Paul could scarcely have had any other conception of the Risen One than that of a glorification of the buried

body.¹ For, as we have seen, the Pharisees viewed the resurrection as including the return of the soul to its body in order to reanimate it (cf. Rom. viii. 11; Heb. xiii. 20). The aim of the resurrection, as I have frequently emphasised, was the taking part in the Messianic kingdom, which implied the entrance into a life that, though glorified, was still enacted on the earth.²

There is nothing opposed to the resurrection from the grave even in 2 Cor. v. No doubt Paul there hopes for a body from heaven (ver. 1 f.). He would fain be clothed with that body while still alive at the second coming (ver. 3). But it is just the analogy which makes us look for an essentially similar transformation of the body lying in the grave into the heavenly body. In both cases, however, it must be transformed by the Spirit of God (Rom. viii. 11) from a "natural," perishable, earthly body, doomed to death, into a spiritual, incorruptible, immortal, heavenly body (1 Cor. xv. 43—49, 52—54). However, the idea that the future eternal blessings are preserved in Heaven, from which they come down at the final Messianic period, is not only a Pauline but a general rabbinical notion (Phil. iii. 20; Holtzmann, *H. C.*, on the passage; 1 Pet. i. 4 f.; Rev. xxi. 2, cf. Matt. vi. 20; Weber, pp. 198, 339 f.).³ And, indeed,

¹ This is essentially the view of even Brandt, p. 326 f.

² The proof will be given later that the Messiah's kingdom is the kingdom of the glorified earth.

³ This is the view of Haller also: *Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche*, ii. 1892, p. 290.

Paul considers that in this respect Christ's resurrection in no way differs from that of other men. For these are to be changed in the same way with Him who is the first-fruits of the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 20-23), transfigured by His Divine Spirit into His image (Phil. iii. 21).

The comparison of the resurrection body with the plant which springs from the dead seed-corn into a new body (1 Cor. xv. 42 ff.) must confirm this. For it is the dead grain itself which is quickened, and on which a new body is bestowed (1 Cor. xv. 37 f.). Thus a natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised up (ver. 44). It therefore, to follow the image, springs, as it were, from the dead body in the grave.¹

This conception is all the more probable that Paul, in constructing the figure, seems to have remembered a saying of the Lord, as reported in John xii. 24. In the exactly similar utterance of Jesus, the corn of wheat cast into the earth (*κόκκος τοῦ σίτου*, as in 1 Cor. xv. 37) in like manner brings forth much fruit only after it has died (verbally expressed as in 1 Cor. xv. 36). But the meaning of this parable was undoubtedly the resurrection of the buried body (cf. Haller's *Lehre von der Auferstehung des Fleisches bis auf Tertullian, l.c.*).

If it is now established that Paul, as well as the apostles, saw in the Christ who appeared to them the Christ who was no doubt glorified, but had risen from the grave, there seems to arise a special difficulty

¹ Cf. Haller, *l.c.* p. 288.

as regards the hypothesis of the objective vision. B. Weiss, Beyschlag, and in their footsteps Steude and others, make the partial admission that the disciples might have been led through a vision to the conviction that Jesus, as a victorious Messiah, was alive with God. But these authors suppose that the disciples could never have reached in this way the belief that He had risen from the grave (Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, iii. 390 ; Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i. 447 ff., 431 ; Steude, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, 1892, pp. 8, 17). The resurrection from the grave, as believed by Jesus' followers, can therefore be explained only by an appearance of Christ that was outwardly and objectively real.

Here we start from the correct assumption that the content of the vision can only be an expression of the ideas that were actually existent in their hearts. Now, if it could be proved that the content of the disciples' faith in the Risen Lord was different from the abstract view of the resurrection current in their day, then the former could not be sufficiently explained by the latter, that is, by a vision, but would presuppose an outer fact for its origin.

It seems to me, however, that if the disciples had a vision of Jesus on the third day after His death, that vision could hardly have shown anything else than the Lord who had risen from the grave. The proof of our former assumption, that they could only have expected the reanimation of their Master in this form, will now fill up the gap left above (p. 86)

in the genesis of the disciples' belief in the resurrection.

Though, as we have seen, Jesus assumed that the righteous, and He Himself also, would pass into Heaven immediately after death (Luke xvi. 22, 23, 43), yet the vulgar Jewish view, which in this matter was evidently that of the disciples, banished the souls of the departed to Sheol (Weber, pp. 323, 326, 351 : cf., *e.g.*, Bereschit rabba, ch. xii. ; Jalkut Schim. Bereschit, xix. ; Erubin, 54^a : Jalkut Schim. on Isaiah, 269 ; Bereschit rabba on Gen. xlv. 8). Even Paul seems to share this conception, though in a more spiritual form (Rom. x. 7, cf. Eph. iv. 9). Moreover, the opinion that Jesus must have passed into Hades had its special support in the belief of the Jewish Christians. For, according to that belief, the very task of the Messiah as "Jinnou" was to bring up the dead from Hades (Weber, pp. 352, 160). To do so He must therefore go down Himself. But what time could have been more convenient for Jesus' doing this than immediately after His death ?

Hence one section, at least, of the first Christians, after the resurrection of the Lord had restored their belief in His Messiahship, supposed that the purpose of His descent into Hades was the proclamation of His Messiahship to its inhabitants, or even their conversion. This is manifest from several passages, as in the First Epistle of Peter (iii. 19, iv. 6). In these passages the object of Jesus' descent into the lower world is clearly the conversion of its tenants. It is

the same in the fragment of the Gospel of Peter. As Jesus comes forth from the grave, a voice from Heaven cries, "Hast Thou preached obedience to those who have fallen asleep?" and the answer is heard, "I have" (ver. 41 f.). But there are also certain allusions to it in the Pauline and some other of the New Testament writings (Rom. x. 7; Eph. iv. 8-10). And even in Matt. xxvii. 52 f.,—a passage, however, whose genuineness may be questioned,—we find traces of the notion that a resurrection of the saints is a result of His descent to Hades.

Accordingly, if Jesus, in conformity with the idea of His disciples, went to Hades at His death, they could only have supposed that His reappearance as the Living One would be brought about by His resurrection from the grave.

No doubt, according to a certain Jewish assumption, those not perfectly righteous who have to suffer in Gehinnom a long time, mostly twelve months, pass from thence to Heaven without a resurrection. The sojourn, also, is longer or shorter (Weber, p. 328 f.). However, a return from Hades on the third day, even in the case of the penitent, cannot be proved. Though this mode of thought may have been found among the contemporaries and disciples of Jesus,—an assumption of which we know nothing,—yet it would have no application to Jesus, as none of His disciples could have supposed that He had anything to expiate in Hades. That view of the cleansing in the lower world, of those not perfectly righteous,

presupposes, on the other hand, the immediate passing of the perfect into Heaven at death, a belief of which we find no sign among the disciples.

But apart from this there is no means of returning from Hades than by the resurrection (cf. Schürer, *The Jewish People*, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 13). Consequently, the apostles must have regarded the appearance of the Lord, which they saw on the third day after His burial, as a rising from the grave, even though that appearance had been a vision.

But in the special nature of Christ's appearance as the Glorified and Risen One, Steude sees an objection to the possibility of a vision in this case. He thinks that if the appearance of Him who had risen from the grave had been a vision, the disciples, according to the Jewish notion, could only have seen Him in the same body in which He was buried (*l.c.* pp. 85–89), only this body must be imagined as placed in a condition of normal soundness. On the other hand, a glorified body such as the Lord showed could, according to the view of the Jews, only belong to Him who was exalted to Heaven, but not to Him who had risen from the grave.

He should bear in mind that a section of the Jews, and unquestionably the Lord Himself, regarded the resurrection as an element of the future world (Luke xx. 35; Mark xii. 25). In that case, he would not only compare Weber, p. 353, but also add what he says in p. 364, that "the glory of the primitive state" returns to those who rise from the dead, and

there is given to them "the brightness of the glory of Adam's countenance, his life, his greatness," his immortality, etc. (cf. *l.c.* pp. 383-385; Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43). Jesus Himself had spoken in the hearing of the disciples of the angelical nature of those who were raised from the dead, and this, from the context, includes the body (Mark xii. 25; cf. p. 77).¹ This transfiguration of the body into a heavenly essence alone answers to that other statement of Jesus concerning the regeneration of all things (Matt. xix. 28, cf. Acts iii. 21),² which is to take place at the commencement of the final kingdom (John v. 25, 28, vi. 39 f., 44, 54, xi. 24; cf. Haller, *l.c.* p. 285 f.). And this kingdom was believed to begin with the resurrection of Jesus (Acts i. 6).

If, in the Gospels, the Risen Lord nevertheless retains some features of a crass, sensuous body, as when He eats and drinks in order to prove that He is not a spirit, but has flesh and bones (Luke xxiv. 40, 43), we need not be too much surprised at these materialistic husks.

Enough. If we, nevertheless, must finally acknowledge Jesus' bodily appearance at Easter (in the sense of an outward reality), the objections hitherto brought against the (objective) vision are not sufficient.

¹ Titius thinks differently, p. 32.

² This will be dealt with more fully in chap. iv.

*(d) Were the Appearances at Easter in Jerusalem
or in Galilee?*

There is still another reason why many find the belief of the disciples in the resurrection from the grave inexplicable on the vision hypothesis. If the appearances were really seen on the third day (see p. 86), then they took place in Jerusalem, and not in Galilee. For the disciples could not have arrived there on the third day, even though they had fled immediately on the apprehension of the Lord (cf. Beysehlag, i. 422). And the assumption of a flight from Jerusalem at that moment is altogether arbitrary, and one that can by no means be justified by Mark xiv. 50 (cf. Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, iii. 389; Beysehlag, i. 421; Steude, p. 120 f.). Those words, "they all forsook Him and fled," can only refer to the fact that they were scattered abroad in Jerusalem. They would probably find sufficient protection there, and at the same time an opportunity of following their Master's further fate. The very fact that no one but the Master was apprehended in Gethsemane makes the assumption that "all" the disciples felt themselves irresistibly forced to flee directly into Galilee seem to be without justification. And even the "all" should not be taken too strictly. For only three verses after the flight is mentioned Peter's disciple expressly relates of his master that he followed Jesus, though at a distance, into the palace of the High Priest (Mark xiv. 54). In his repeated denials,

also, which no doubt betray a certain fear, Peter escapes unmolested. And there is nothing in the report to indicate that he then immediately withdrew from Jerusalem (Mark xiv. 72). All this does not look like a universal panic-struck flight to a distance. It is therefore an arbitrary proceeding on the part of W. Brandt when he again seeks to show from Mark xiv. 51 f. that there was a "real panic" among the disciples generally (p. 22). He himself even admits that they may have remained near to Jerusalem on the day of the crucifixion (p. 489). Further, on the authority of an undoubtedly correct tradition, we find the favourite disciple with the mother of Jesus even under the cross (John xix. 26 f.). There is "nothing, therefore, to indicate that the personal safety of the disciples was seriously threatened in those days, and if the women from Galilee, including the mother of Zebedee's children, remained in Jerusalem on the day of the crucifixion, and for days afterwards, their natural protectors will certainly not have run away from it" (Beyschlag, i. 422; cf. Weiss, iii. 392). Hence the Gospel of Peter is possibly right in making the disciples return to Galilee with the multitude only after the celebration of the festival on the last day of unleavened bread (ver. 58: *l.c.* p. 16), though it knows as little as Mark of appearances to the disciples at Jerusalem, notwithstanding its grandiose narrative of the resurrection before the eyes of the watchers at the grave.

However, there is no doubt that the appearances

to Peter and the Eleven, at least, took place in Jerusalem on Easter Sunday. The third and fourth Evangelists agree in assigning that day as the date of the appearance to the latter, and, according to Paul and Luke, the appearance to Peter precedes that (1 Cor. xv. 5; Luke xxiv. 34). One cannot see how these reports should not be derived from the testimony of the original apostles in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, Galilean appearances, which are almost the only ones now commonly regarded as authentic, may have taken place later. The only point of importance here is that those most momentous appearances which established the belief of the early Church in the resurrection took place in Jerusalem itself.

(c) The Empty Grave

This particular occurrence now seems to present a new hindrance to the vision hypothesis. If those fundamental appearances of the Risen One took place in Galilee, far from the grave, then the grave could no longer play an important rôle. But if they happened in Jerusalem, and on the third day after Jesus' death, then the grave must have been empty. Otherwise the disciples would never have been able to proclaim the resurrection of Jesus from the grave in the hearing of His enemies without being given the lie. For, if He had risen from the dead, there fell upon His murderers, and that from the day of the resurrection, the fearful reproach

of having slain a righteous man. God Himself made manifest His righteousness by raising Him from the dead. And, indeed, this man raised from the dead as the first-fruits of them that sleep could hardly have been any other than the Messiah. We cannot conceive of them, in such circumstances, not attempting to cleanse themselves from that fearful stain of the murder of Messiah, by proving to the senses that the resurrection had not taken place. This they could have done by an exhibition of the corpse as it was in the grave. The aversion to a corpse could not certainly, in this case, have prevented them from doing so (cf. Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, iii. 395 f.).

But from other parts of the Gospels it is also manifest that the body of Jesus was not in the grave. Nothing but this fact could have occasioned among the Jews of that time the rumour that the disciples had stolen the dead body of the Lord. This rumour, according to the statement of the first Evangelist, prevailed "until this day," and therefore must have been in circulation in early Christian times (Matt. xxviii. 15).¹

The objection of Holsten (*Die Messiasvision des Petrus*, p. 126) and others, that people could have had no interest in the inspection of the corpse, rests on the assumption, which has been already refuted,

¹ The assumption of W. Brandt that the empty grave was an "invention" of Mark (p. 318 f.) has itself rather the look of an invention, and that not exactly of a pious kind. One should have a little more confidence in the moral personality of the Evangelists.

that not only Paul, but the original apostles also, understood the resurrection to be a purely spiritual one. We saw, on the contrary, that both alike conceived it as the reanimation of the buried, though now glorified, body. To men, therefore, who held such an opinion, Jesus could not have risen from the dead, if His body was lying in the grave.

In point of fact, then, nothing remains to the defenders of the vision hypothesis but the assumption that Jesus' corpse, for some reason, had been taken from the grave. This reason, of course, can no longer be established with certainty. But that is no absolute proof that there could not have been such a motive. Even the fact that we do not know who stole the body would not positively pronounce against the possibility of theft.

At any rate, the Jews could hardly have had any motive for such an act. It must therefore, in all probability, have been Christians. But certainly it was not Christians from the more select circle of disciples. That is opposed by the fact that they all found in the empty grave a confirmation and, in part, a reason for their belief in the resurrection. We have no right whatever to attribute any dishonesty to them. Accordingly, they must themselves have been deceived. On the other hand, we might possibly seek for the originator in the large circle of adherents, less closely connected with Jesus, who admired and venerated, but did not sufficiently understand the great wonder worker.

Not only have the bones of saints in later times been held in great honour, but, when it was possible, they have even been procured for memorials, or for the purpose of working miracles. In the days of Jesus, also, the people looked on objects which had only an outward relation to the venerated saints as capable of working wonders, and used them as such. A case in point is the aprons and handkerchiefs of the Apostle Paul, which the Ephesians used for the healing of sickness (Acts xix. 12, cf. v. 15). How much more, in the belief of the multitude, must the wonderful powers which during His lifetime proceeded so often from the holy body of Jesus have proceeded from it after His death (Mark v. 28 ff., iii. 10, and elsewhere). Even the body of the dead Elias was able to give life to another who was laid beside him in the grave (2 Kings xiii. 21). And that this remained the belief even of the later Jews, is evident from the Talmud. For, "according to Sanhedrin 47^b, dust was taken from the grave of the Leader, the great Saint, . . . in order to cure fever, and indeed not secretly; Rabbi Samuel approved of it. It was also a tradition, as we are taught in Jalkut Schim. Beresch. 156, that the bones of Joseph were not allowed to remain in Egypt, because the Egyptians might have been redeemed by them, since miraculous healing influences proceed from the bones of lesser saints, and even from the dust of their graves" (Weber, p. 289). A sense of shame, or some such

feeling, might probably, in such a case, have been the reason why such a superstitious half-adherent of Jesus did not care to acknowledge this act.¹

Now, whether the empty grave be explained by the taking away of the body, which was the original thought of Mary Magdalene (John xx. 13, 15), or by the bodily resurrection of Jesus; Ullhorn, at any rate, is wrong when, in the first case, he makes the whole course of the world and the whole history of our race depend "upon the chance that the mysterious unknown resolves to take the body of Jesus from the grave," and that he keeps silence about it (*l.c.* p. 175). In point of fact, the course of the world's history was not affected by the empty grave, but by belief in the Messiah who had passed to the right hand of God. And this belief might, in itself, have arisen without the empty grave. On the contrary, it could not, as we saw, have been produced by the empty grave, and was not produced

¹ If Joseph of Arimathea, who was well known to the Christian community, had only provisionally placed the corpse in the rock tomb, and then buried in his (Joseph's) native place, the apostles would no doubt have known this (notwithstanding Scholten *ev. Naar. Joh.* 182, and *Jesus von Nazareth*, by "Amicus Veritatis," 1894, p. 56). W. Brandt, on his part, makes the very improbable assumption that the disciples, and even the mother of the Lord herself, troubled themselves so little about His corpse, that they were unable to fix the place and identity of the grave (p. 328, cf. p. 489). But, in that case, the reckless preaching of the resurrection would stamp them as fanatical deceivers. In order that Joseph, who buried the Lord, may be able to give no information, he must have done this not only in all quietness (contrary to Mark xv. 47), but have immediately withdrawn to the Diaspora. There, of course, he was sure of protection (cf. pp. 312 f., 435 ff.). How ingenious!

by it. That could only have been the external cause or means of strengthening the faith of the heart, which was inwardly originated and maintained by the power of God (cf. p. 86 f.).

But if, on the other hand, the enemies of Jesus had been able to exhibit His body in the sepulchre, the disciples' belief that He had risen from the grave could neither have arisen nor been maintained. In that case, the belief, which would certainly have been produced by the power of the Divine Spirit in spite of this, would necessarily have referred only to the victorious Messiah, who, after His death, was exalted to God. His resurrection would then have been expected only in connection with His second coming. But assuredly this belief could not in such circumstances have spread so rapidly.

Another reason to which a special force is attributed is frequently adduced in favour of the bodily resurrection of Jesus as the only possible cause of the empty grave. It is supposed that it would have been unworthy of God if the corpse of Jesus had been stolen. But if it was worthy of God to allow His living Son to be put to death as a malefactor, why should it be absolutely unworthy of Him to allow the material body, decomposed into its atoms, to be taken away from a motive of idolatrous veneration? If even we show a mistaken reverence for His perishable human body, it may be feared that the worship of His immortal divinity will thereby be damaged. Church history has more

than once proved this danger to be real. We have only to think of the worship of relics.¹

Finally, the other objection, that psychology and the economy of salvation make it impossible for an error to be the basis of a religious revolution so mighty and so blessed, has no real meaning. The removal of the body and the empty grave are in no circumstances the grounds of believing in the resurrection. On the contrary, the renewed impression of the overpowering divinity of the person of Jesus awoke, as we saw (p. 86 f.), the conviction that He was the Messiah, the Conqueror of death. Faith itself, therefore, would have given their content to the appearances of Christ, on the supposition that they were objective visions. They would then, on the strength of the empty tomb, have received an explanation in accordance with the ideas of the age, but not with the actual fact, by the resurrection of the body from the grave. The empty grave could only have served to confirm that conviction and defend it against assaults. But the kernel would have remained the God-produced revelation of the heavenly Messiahship of the slain but living Jesus.²

It is a fact that, in God's guidance of history, the idea of the speedy return of the Lord, conceived in the most sensuous way, a mistaken notion which

¹ This, of course, is not to be taken as an assertion that the body was stolen.

² Cf. the more exact proof under "*g.*"

we intend shortly to demonstrate, must have exercised a most blessed influence on the earnestness of the faith and life of the first Christians. And yet in a certain sense the hope of the second coming is but the reverse side of the belief in the resurrection. Considering this belief, an error which was not essential to the content of faith could not have encountered any absolutely greater difficulties.

We are therefore treating the matter too lightly if we think that such reasons form absolutely convincing proofs of the resurrection of the body from the grave.

(f) *The Symbolical and the Assumed Resurrection Body of Jesus* (B. Weiss and Steude)

If, in the foregoing, I have refuted the reasons which have been brought forward against the hypothesis of an objective vision, and in favour of the corporeity of Christ's appearances,¹ I have not thereby refuted the fact itself, nor wished to do so. On the contrary, I shall presently adduce a powerful reason in its favour. But the defenders of the corporeity should not give up a presupposition which lies at the basis of their view. For they would thereby, as it seems to me, deprive their standpoint of its basis and its specific value. The man who assumes that Christ appeared in a heavenly body admits that such a body can be manifested to the

¹ In the sense of outward reality.

senses. As we saw, the possibility of that cannot be called in question (p. 92 f.). Now, the sensuous body in which Jesus appeared was certainly not in the view of the disciples a mere sign and testimony of His having come forth bodily from the grave (Weiss, *l.c.* iii. 392). Neither the view of the Jewish people nor the account in the Gospels give the least support to that. On the contrary, the disciples believed that they had seen the very body which Jesus at that time possessed (so Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i. 458).

Thomas would not believe in the resurrection until he placed his hands on the nail prints of the body which had risen from the grave (John xx. 25). And this was just what the Lord challenged him to do (ver. 27). Are we then to suppose that if he had attempted to do so he would have grasped the air, because "the nature of the heavenly body which Jesus then had was such that it could not be manifested to the senses"? What a deception would we then attribute to the Lord, and what a disillusion to Thomas! Or, can Thomas have felt flesh and bone indeed, but not that of the body which Christ then had? Such an explanation would not only be decidedly laboured, but would destroy the perfect purity of Jesus' mode of acting. The Gospels take a very different view of the matter.

Whatever legendary additions may belong to the eating and drinking of Jesus and such like

materialistic features, He could not possibly have assumed an apparent form, or, as Steude supposes, resumed His former earthly body for a short time in order to convince the disciples of His resurrection. This body was itself transformed into the heavenly one. Did Jesus retransform it back to its former state? Steude assumes such a retransformation in all the appearances of Christ, "in which more was perceived than a mere dazzling lustre" (*l.c.* p. 20). And yet this itself can only be perceived by the senses.

In this way, the advocacy of the bodily appearances of Christ loses the very thing which it would fain hold, namely, the identity of the embodied though glorified personality. For if Jesus, only "for a time and for the purpose of the appearance," assumed a form which might "just as well have resembled the former human form with the traces of the crucifixion as been another form unknown to the disciples" (Steude, p. 123), then the body which they saw was not that of Him who had risen from the dead, but only one He had assumed, and foreign to Him as such. But if the Risen One did not appear to the disciples as such, a view of that kind has no longer any advantage over the hypothesis of the objective vision. On the contrary, an objective influence of God upon the heart, which from the laws of mind assumed the form of a corresponding vision of Christ, seems to me more worthy and more truthful than to make Jesus assume a form which

in relation to His actual present body is only an appearance.

Only if we admit that the heavenly body could in certain circumstances make itself perceptible to the senses, can the idea of the bodily appearances of Christ be defended in an acceptable form.

Now, we might admit that no strict proof of the corporeity of those appearances could be given in the way indicated, but think that we are able to show, instead of that, their absolute religious value. If that were so, then we would have at once to recognise the fact as an immediate postulate of faith. We have therefore, in the last place, to subject this most important point of the question to a still further examination.

(g) The Historical and Religious Value of the Belief in the Corporeity of the Appearances of Christ, and in the Resurrection of Jesus from the Grave

The Historical Value of the Belief in the Resurrection of Jesus from the Grave

There can be no doubt that the Church was based on the belief of the first Christians that Jesus had risen from the grave. But it is just as true that the victorious power of their faith could not, and did not, lie in the medium, but only in the contents of the revelation itself. The appearances

of Christ established in an outward form, to those who witnessed them, the certainty of their faith in the victorious Messiahship of Jesus. From these appearances, which they regarded as bodily, they concluded that Jesus had actually risen from the grave. And the empty grave ratified the conclusion. This in itself, however, had no value for their faith; its only value was an indirect historical one. Even in their case the only point of ultimate importance, from the religious standpoint, was their gaining a belief in some form or another in the eternal mediatorship of the Son of God.

We can see plainly from the New Testament that the only saving value which the resurrection from the grave had for them lay in the assurance of this Messiahship (Acts ii. 36, cf. with 24 and 32 f.; iii. 15, 19-21, 26, iv. 10-12, v. 29-32, x. 40-43). To Paul also this kernel was the only thing of religious value (Rom. i. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 13-18).

This, in all cases, is the faith which could and did overcome the world. But it remained essentially the same, whether united with a correct or with a false psychological or metaphysical conception of the form of Christ's appearances.

Hence it is an exaggeration of the historical value of the form of the resurrection from the grave, to maintain that it was the necessary condition for the renewal of the disciples' faith in Jesus' mediatorship, and therefore for the founding of the Church.

Whoever believes in the power of divine truth will, as we have already indicated, have no doubt as to the victory of the resurrection-belief, though it be in a more spiritual form (cf. p. 120), even though there had been no appearance of Christ.

So far as the belief in Jesus' Messianic victory grew up by God's guidance in the form of the resurrection from the grave, and would, at any rate, have had greater difficulty in originating in another shape, there must be ascribed to this form a qualified but not an absolute historical value.

Yet many think they can indirectly prove that it has an absolute historical value. They maintain that if the appearances of Christ to the disciples were visions, then the Christian Church is based on a deception. And that, they say, is a historical impossibility. This objection, however, concerns only the purely subjective vision, the contents of which would be erroneous, imaginary, and deceitful (cf. p. 97 f.). The objective vision does not necessarily exclude even the resurrection from the grave. We may, indeed, believe that Jesus assumed the glorified body in the grave, and yet doubt whether the Risen One was able to show Himself with that body to the eye of sense. Even B. Weiss regards this latter point as impossible. As we saw, however, he does not infer that there was a vision, but that Jesus assumed an appearance visible to sense in order to give a symbolical sign of His resurrection (cf. "*f*").

The objective appearance of Christ, which has the same religious contents as the bodily appearance, is distinguished from it only by the fact that its form signifies an inner and not at the same time an outer reality. However important in other respects this distinction may be, it cannot be shown to have any direct religious value. The belief in the ascension of the victorious Mediator to the right hand of God would not have been a deception of the senses even in the form of a mere inner reality of the appearance of Christ, inasmuch as it rested on the real revelation of the living God.

The same thing applies to the whole revelation of the old prophets, even when we leave their visions entirely out of account. They also, naturally, regarded the words of revelation which they heard in their souls as uttered to them with a human voice by the God in whose counsel they were, and whose language they heard. Now, the form of such words of God could really be nothing but a creation of the human soul. And yet the false ascription of an objective reality to this form did not make its divine objective contents an error or an untruth.

Hence, though we were even forced to believe the apostles wrong in regarding not only the content but also the form of Christ's appearance as objective (which we do not), yet they might have been prophets filled with the Spirit in the act of their vision. For, even in this case, the knowledge of the life of the Mediator of their salvation, a knowledge due to

the direct operation of the personal God, remained undiminished in its objective reality and truth. Even though they were vouchsafed no later appearances, they knew that the Spirit of the victorious Christ was always present with them. And this gave their faith the power which it needed no less than before, when it had no lack of the resonance of sense.

Accordingly, objective visions and bodily appearances of Christ have essentially the same significance for the historical genesis of faith in Jesus as the Messiah who is the Conqueror of death.

This brings us to the relation between the form of the appearance and the intrinsic content of the belief in the resurrection.

*The Religious Value of the Belief in Jesus' Resurrection
from the Grave*

It may be objectively proved that Jesus' position as Mediator of salvation derives no real value from the assumption of His resurrection from the grave. That, of itself, cannot even prove the historical fact of His sinlessness, to say nothing of His position of Messiah and Saviour. For all pious sinners are to rise from the dead. And the first Evangelist reports the raising of the "saints" even before Jesus' own resurrection (Matt. xxvii. 52 f.).

It is of still less importance for our salvation in Him alone. For in whatever way and under whatever circumstances Christ's exaltation was brought

about by God, the important matter is this event itself and its result. Jesus' Messiahship and our salvation depend on it alone, and not on the body He had in the grave. Jesus Christ even now rules as King among believers. His victory is manifest in the renewing of the world by the power of His word as light and salt, in the regeneration of the hearts of men who surrender themselves to the influences of His Spirit. Complete fellowship with God, with all its saving effects, has been actually brought about by the love of God revealed in Christ. The objective religious value of belief in the resurrection lies, therefore, in the exaltation of Jesus to an infinitely sublime and central sphere of religious power. For that is what secures and seals for all eternity the result of His redemptive work. On that alone, too, is based the hope of our own resurrection, that is, our confidence that we also after death will be with Christ in a higher form of existence (furnished with a new body), and through Him and in Him stand in inmost fellowship with God.

But the form in which Jesus went to the Father makes no difference as to the fact of that going and its saving results.

With direct reference to His exaltation, Christ says, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing" (John vi. 62-64). By that He means His own Spirit, which is at the same time the Spirit of God. Hence the only thing of fundamental religious value is the fact that Jesus, as the living

Christ, conquers the world and rules it by His Spirit. It matters not whether He appears to His people bodily, or only reveals Himself to them spiritually; whether He passes straight from the cross or only from the grave to the right hand of God. One cannot see how the value and power of belief in this dominion over the world should depend on whether Jesus assumed His glorified body in the grave or in Heaven.

We sometimes hear it said that if Jesus had not risen bodily from the grave we would then have a "dead Saviour." A remarkably absurd supposition underlies this statement. For it looks as if the spirit of Jesus had been laid with His body in the grave, and was itself dead till the resurrection of the body from the grave. This view verges on the old Jewish conception. But for us Christians the Spirit of Him who belongs to the God of life, and still more when it is the Spirit of the Prince of Life Himself, is altogether indestructible by death. His resurrection, therefore, cannot signify the regaining of a living personality. The contrary can only be maintained by those who, in opposition to the later Pauline view (Phil. i. 23), know of no life with God before the resurrection from the grave.

That residuum of the old Jewish and heathen mode of thought maintains itself so long only because it finds support in the mechanical conception of the inspiration of the Bible. Paul himself seems to share that view in those passages of his Epistles

where he presupposes, as a direct contrast to the resurrection of Christ from the grave, His annihilation or corruption, as well as that of those who have fallen asleep in Christ (1 Cor. xv. 18, 16, 32).

*Jesus' Resurrection from the Grave and Christian
Faith as such*

From all this it is manifest that no saving value can be proved to belong to the corporeity of Jesus' resurrection in itself. But it may be shown from the idea of faith that that corporeity cannot be its object in the strict sense. For faith is a religious idea. That should not need to be stated. Hence it has for *content* neither metaphysical nor other *conditions* on which salvation becomes possible or actual, but this salvation itself in its reality and truth.

Faith and salvation in this sense are correlates. They present the subjective and objective sides of the same thing, namely, religion. Our personality, in feeling, mind, and will, is united with the personality of God through the faith which lays hold of salvation. Hence the only object of our faith, in this deepest personal sense, can be, strictly speaking, God Himself.

On its receptive side, then, it is the personal heart experience in which man is made directly to know that God and divine things are truly and really his highest good. Its content, therefore, is always a present experience which we, by means of the

religious feeling, perceive to be a religious one, an expression of the personal relation of God to us.¹

So far, then, faith is a state of heart and disposition. It always begins when God lays hold of me and I lay hold of God in my inmost heart. Through the believer becoming sensible, by his experience of God's love, that God desires his salvation, he feels constrained to recognise the truth of this saving purpose, and resigns himself to it in full self-surrender and with perfect certainty. Thus the receptive experience of the divine purpose of love finally develops into spontaneous confidence in that love.

In the love of God, then, which man experiences in faith, and which he trusts, are found the motives that are strong enough to effect the transmission of the divine power of love,² and therefore a complete return of love, regeneration, and sanctification. However, faith becomes merged in the experience of God's love, and in reliance on it. Those fruits of faith, therefore, have nothing to do with the idea of faith in itself (cf. Augustana, art. 24. 5, 6, 12).

Accordingly, as the content of this state of mind is a personal relation, it is not, as such, directly concerned with objective truth. It is self-evident, of course, that there can be no fellowship of love

¹ Cf. also Lobstein, "Der evangelische Heilsglaube an die Auferstehung Jesu Christi," in Gottschiek's *Zeitschrift für Theol. und Kirche*, 1892, p. 354.

² We may here be allowed to use this figurative expression for brevity's sake.

with a person of whose existence we have any doubt (Heb. xi. 6). Hence I must in some way learn that God loves me before I can feel or acknowledge or trust His love. For all that, however, the preliminary knowledge in question does not belong to the content of faith, but is its presupposition.

Now, since God reveals and confers on men His perfect fellowship only in Christ, the idea of faith attains to perfect reality and truth in Him alone. It is in Christ, as Mediator, that the believer experiences the living God's present relation to himself, and it is in Him again that he realises his relation to God. Thus, in Christianity, faith remains a relation of person to person.

Only in the wider sense can certain facts be objects of faith; though here we no longer use the word in its proper significance. We mean those which may be indirectly experienced to have religious value, in so far as they stand in an inwardly necessary relation to a religious value that belongs to the experience of faith. To these belong the carrying out and perfecting the work of salvation as such, without which Jesus could not be my Saviour.

However, even facts connected with the history of salvation do not so much as possess indirect religious value for faith, unless they modify God's relation to us in Christ. For, indeed, faith is not the indirect discernment and acknowledgment that a saving event has actually or probably taken place,

which we ourselves, or even others, have perhaps experienced long ago. It is rather, as we saw, that present personal religious experience itself.

Hence the bodily resurrection of Jesus, as a mere historical event, can only be an object of intellectual conviction, but not of faith in the proper sense. Even faith in the wider sense, though convinced that the exaltation of Christ is the necessary condition to our salvation being perfected, *does not dogmatise on the process of its accomplishment*. For, in fact, this process is a matter of direct religious indifference. Even apart from Jesus' bodily resurrection, there still remains objectively the whole religious significance of His saving work. And, subjectively, our faith in the exalted Lord as our only Saviour is not destroyed by a doubt of that bodily resurrection. In this sense the general content of the belief in the resurrection lies in the words of Jesus, "because I live, ye shall live also" (John xiv. 19 ; so also Steude, *l.c.* p. 5).

Accordingly, no one can have *faith* in anything else than this religious content of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. A resurrection from *the grave*, on the other hand, can only be regarded as true.

Consequently, the question as to the bodily resurrection of Jesus does not belong to Christian saving faith in the narrower sense, but to Christian science, to theology. It is not, therefore, in any way suited for being the measure of one's Christianity, however often it is misused for that end. That

standard should rather be the eternal and essential content of faith, salvation by Christ alone.

Even Ulhorn admits that those who assume an objective vision thereby acknowledge "a miracle effected in the hearts of the disciples, a deed of God . . . which assures us that He did not remain in death, but is alive" (*Das Leben Jesu in seinen neuereu Darstellungen*, 4th ed. p. 168 f.). He adds: "That is a great matter, and nothing is further from my mind than to deny to those who occupy that position faith in the living Christ." No doubt he judges the vision hypothesis, even in this form, as "a serious attenuation of Christian faith," which must logically undermine the ground on which the Church rests. I hope I have proved that this is not the case.

Steude, also, personally accepts the resurrection of Jesus from the grave, but shows more liberal views on this point. He recognises the object of the true Easter belief not in the bodily resurrection from the grave, but in the "personal continuance of the life of Jesus in heaven" (pp. 3-6), and asserts: "Those who cannot convince themselves of the bodily resurrection of Jesus, may have this Easter faith just as truly and as joyfully as those who, on historical grounds, have acquired the certainty of that divine miracle" (p. 6). Indeed, we saw that this is the very thing that cannot be attained by a purely historical method.¹

¹ Since the above was written, the work of Vorbrodt, *Psychologie des Glaubens*, 1895, a pioneer work in this department, has come

(h) Proof of the Bodily Resurrection of Christ

Truth and clearness required us to establish that a bodily appearance of Christ can neither be proved

into my hands. I see that my idea of faith agrees with his in all essentials and even in many details, so that I do not feel any need to change a single word. That is a satisfaction to me personally as well as for the sake of the subject, and all the more so because my special task merely led to an incidental and somewhat empirical sketch of my fundamental view, while Vorbrodt develops his on all sides with systematic thoroughness and psychological acuteness. To him also the real "religious" faith is originally a "surrender of heart to heart" (p. 90), the expression of a purely personal relation (pp. 92, 108f.) between God and man (pp. 131, 193, 220), with which is contrasted the "theoretical objective intellectual faith" as one that has no specific religious character (p. 108f., and elsewhere). Vorbrodt's discovery, however, is that he defines faith, that "most peculiar, most personal, most immediate individual thing," as the "enjoyment of the blessing of divine grace and communion" (p. 101), especially the "communion of life with Christ" (p. 221), "by which enjoyment all other blessings are appropriated and made plain, and the two main factors of faith, the invisible element and the personal certainty, are brought to expression" (p. 101). And indeed one enjoys a "blessing, object, thing, by appropriating it through the pleasure which one feels" (p. 52). "Pleasure, feeling, is a means to enjoyment" (p. 52). From this description of the essential content of faith, hit upon with masterly tact, follows the position of faith towards the reality of the invisible personality which is its object. Here the only point in question is whether God exists, and not how He exists, which is rather the "result of the judgment of value"; whether "He of whom the judgment of value speaks is a reality" (p. 183). But faith does not reflect on this point, because this existence is as "self-evident as that of the father, whom he does not at the moment see, and whom he yet trusts, is to the child" (p. 97). It is only as an after consideration that the "certainty of the value" relates to the "existence of the thing, . . . but primarily it concerns the emotional enjoyment whose object is that which in its nature is invisible" (p. 196). For the "feeling of certainty" is only "an accompanying phenomenon of the value-judgment of trust" (p. 222).

With that is connected the relation of faith to history as such. In history religious facts have only their roots (p. x.). Hence

as incontestable in a purely historical way, nor be a proper object of faith. The proof of this may

"historical facts are to be added to faith in thought, without being really and logically in it" (p. 94). As regards Christianity in particular, we appropriate the "real" "objective" that is appraised in faith, in the contemplation of the "*basis* of faith" afforded by the picture of Christ's history and life (the *basis* of faith as distinguished from the *content* of faith), (p. 166). Consequently Vorbrodt, too, does not regard the existence of the personality believed in as belonging to the content of faith, but only as a necessary presupposition of the concept proper.

The psychological formula "of religiousness," "the abiding in faith," is now the "judgment of value" (pp. 154, 104) which organically comprises will, feeling, and notion (p. 101). The entire sum of religious knowledge is exhausted in judgments of value (pp. 102, 131). For the religious value (in enjoyment) which consists in the relation of the Ego to God (p. 156) finds conscious expression in these judgments (pp. 151, 101). As enjoyment "is the fundamental religious experience" (p. 179), religion as a good that is enjoyed can "only be fixed and experienced by the judgment of value" (p. 162). On the other hand, the "forms and means for describing the experience gained in a judgment of value" are "judgments of existence" (p. 162).

With all that I am thoroughly at one. Vorbrodt's special merit lies in not only having established the relation of faith to the personal human spirit in its totality, but also in having demonstrated it psychologically. Nevertheless, though I quite agree with his definition of the content of faith, his conception of its origin or mediation in the subject has not convinced me. I may therefore be allowed to indicate briefly my doubts. I leave out of account whether he is entitled to class enjoyment with notion and will, feeling and judgment, as an elementary state of soul (p. 47 f.). Above all, I do not understand his definition of the relation of enjoyment to feeling. He seems to have been especially led to it by his comparatively well-grounded fear of resolving "religion into feeling" (p. 52). Besides, he himself recognises the great importance not merely of the accompanying feelings (p. 220), but also of feeling as "medium of ideas, mainspring of will, fulness of enjoyment" (p. 215). Now, I think I must make a greater concession to Schleiermacher's and Lotze's conception of feeling. Faith indeed is "neither feeling nor feeling of independence, . . . it rather presupposes a relation between God and man" (p. 225). This would be much too narrow a definition of faith. But yet by means of enjoyment one becomes

probably seem to many too exhaustive, and scarcely suggest that I do not hold the hypothesis of the

sensible not only mediately but also immediately of the value of fellowship with God involved in it. And by what other means should this consciousness be brought about than by a feeling, that is to say, in this case by the specifically religious feeling? (This I regard as a moral feeling directed to God, as the immediate consciousness gained by the (practical) personality as such, of the immanent and yet at the same time transcendent basis of life that rules it.) For Vorbrodt himself admits that the "objectivity of the value" is dependent "on the fact of definite feelings" which of course "cannot be embraced and described by any other concept than by the idea of value." The *content* of this immediate feeling of value seems to me to consist more exactly in a qualitative affection of the practical Ego only learned by experience, but its *objectivity* as a religious feeling to be made perceptible by the accompanying sense of constraint; whence subsequent reflection sees itself compelled to seek the cause of the moral feeling as a religious feeling outside the Ego. Thus, in the religious feeling we perceive the self-determined relation of God to us, which is the presupposition and spring of our relation to Him.

It is therefore essentially the same relation as in the case of external perception. That the object of a notion has external reality, can likewise be gathered only from the feeling of necessity which accompanies the objective notion, while it is not inherent in the purely subjective.

Moreover, Vorbrodt's view itself seems logically to lead to the acknowledgment that in the enjoyment of faith the religious feeling represents the immediate consciousness of the subjective value which God has for men. If he regards feeling as the "local sign" that, somehow and somewhere, something psychical is taking place (p. 221), the religious feeling is just the medium of the direct perception that something religious is taking place, namely, a relation of God and man. Further, if enjoyment consists in appropriating a good through the pleasure one feels (S.O.), religious enjoyment consists in appropriating the fellowship of God through the pleasure one feels in it. Now, if Vorbrodt takes the judgment of value as "embryonically" immanent in enjoyment, it follows that the religious feeling is the more exact place of origin of the former. If the personality directly perceives in this the value of communion with God for its own life, one might define the judgment of value as the intellectual expression of the value immediately perceived in

objective vision, but that my personal conviction is rather with those who recognise an appearance of Christ in a spiritual body. The fulness of the above discussion, and the efforts to do justice to honest opponents of the bodily appearance of Christ, are perhaps needed to dispel the mental confusion of many who are only too ready to charge every one who questions this fact with wilfulness, scepticism, and even untruthfulness and unbelief. I would fain hope that the disclosure of the great difficulties surrounding this article of faith on its intellectual side, and the perception of the true religious value of the fact of the resurrection, may make them more patient with those who recognise the kernel of faith existing in that fact, though unable to appropriate the form in which it is presented. I would fain hope that in this respect the good example of men like Ulhorn and Steude may be followed in wider circles.

Moreover, I do not hesitate to trace back my anxiety for such true Christian toleration to that understanding of the standpoint of opponents which I have gained from my own theological development. And this leads me further to adduce the grounds on

feeling and appropriated in enjoyment, and this judgment of value would then receive its ideally developed dogmatic form in corresponding judgments of reality. The action of the Divine Spirit on the human, an action which seizes and comprehends the whole Ego (p. 55), is immediately exercised only on the moral and religious feeling. It can hardly be proved that this action can immediately embrace view and will without the instrumentality of the above feeling, as Vorbrodt seems to assume (p. 55).

which believers base their conviction of the personal appearance of the Lord. The way is first cleared for this fact by the perception that, however common the opposite assumption is, the impossibility of departed spirits appearing cannot be proved. And indeed, as regards this, it is of no consequence whether we suppose them to have a spiritual body or not. But still, whoever insists on the impossibility of this has, so far as I see, no scientific right at least to recognise personal appearances of Christ, but only at most to assume objective visions.

No doubt, even if the above impossibility be denied, the real possibility of the contrary cannot, as we saw (p. 92 f.), be immediately proved. Whether we are to assume this, and consequently the reality, in the case of Christ, ultimately depends on the significance which we logically ascribe to His person and its religious position. The conviction of the sinlessness and divinity of Jesus Christ gained from other reasons—a conviction which stamps Him as the unique and perfect Mediator of fellowship with God and of salvation—attributes to the perfected and glorified God-Man the whole power and authority of God in religious matters. This God, as the All-embracing One, is in Himself invisible (1 Tim. vi. 16; John i. 18). As regards His inmost essence, He can only reveal Himself to men in a man. The saving and blessed love which impels Him to give Himself to men, has accomplished this revelation for their salvation in His Son Jesus Christ. Hence it is in keeping

with the latter's historical destination as Mediator of salvation, that in the other world also God should communicate with the glorified through Him (1 John iii. 2; "*φανερωθῇ*" refers to Christ). The organ of this intercourse is His glorified body, which He received after death. By already revealing Himself in this form to His people who were left behind on earth, and whose faith so much needed strengthening, He gave them not only a spiritual guarantee of His heavenly Messiahship, but also one that was corroborated by the senses. Love must have impelled their Lord to do this if He could; and it must, on the other hand, have moved God in any case to confer on Him the power of doing so. For it was in thorough harmony with God's gracious condescension to facilitate in this way the first genesis of belief in the resurrection. Thus Jesus revealed Himself to His friends in a spiritual body, in order to root that conviction in their minds, and so found His Church on a basis that could not be moved.

That is the dogmatic train of thought by which theology and Christology reach the conclusion that the appearance of Christ was a bodily one. It scarcely needs to be asserted that the genesis of the disciples' faith in the bodily appearance of the Lord was brought about by no such abstract argument. Even yet it is not wont to arise in such a reflective way, but in the same manner as then, because the faith which lays hold of us by its religious content carries its form immediately with it. From this,

however, it only follows that an outward and even an inward event is entirely different from the subsequent reflection on it, which seeks to prove in an indirect way that the form of the thing believed is historical.

Now, from this point we certainly get a clearer light on the relation between this view of the bodily appearance of the Lord and the hypothesis of the objective vision. The two standpoints are closely connected with, though not necessarily based upon, somewhat different estimates of Jesus' position as Saviour. For we saw that whoever thinks logically about the full conception of this mediatorship of salvation, is driven further to the corporality of His appearance. In fact, in the case of the disciples, the overpowering impression of His heavenly Messiahship must have conquered all doubt as to the corporeity and reality of His appearance. Now, if our conviction is firmly based, that the glorified Lord revealed Himself bodily to His disciples, then this must appear to us as a glorious act of God, a jewel of universal history. For the indisputable and manifest triumph of the divine power and love, which is, as it were, embodied in the personal appearance of the victor over death out of the imperishable world for which we long, must have a different effect on the disciples and on us than the purely inward victory of belief in the Messiah. It is quite another thing for a father who is supposed to be lost to appear suddenly in the midst of his children, than for him

to give them a sign of life from a distance whence he is for ever debarred from returning in the flesh. The divine power of faith is indeed a guarantee that the disciples would have regained their faith even without the personal appearance of their Lord. But the inner certainty and vitality of that faith seem to have received the surest possible guarantee from the bodily appearances of Christ. And though it might still be asked whether the faith regained in a purely inward manner would not necessarily have been exposed to the attack of severe doubts, the inspiring heroism of the witnesses of the resurrection, which has influenced men continuously for thousands of years, seems to us a matter of course in the other case.

And further. However worthy of God it may be that the imagination of the excited disciples should have created phantoms of real life for the genuine belief of their heart; yet, on the one hand, a product of fancy, even though its content be true, has not in the long run the power of a real outer event, and, on the other hand, it agrees better with the sobriety of those who founded the Christian Church—a sobriety which they were taught by the King of Truth, which was morally grounded, and which was approved by their whole after life—that they should not have needed any sobering down in that important point. Especially as, notwithstanding their great sincerity towards themselves and others, we never afterwards find among them the slightest trace of the perception that the appearances of the personal

Christ rested on imagination. Finally, it is unquestionably more in keeping with the religious feeling that God, in His power, love, and wisdom, should have caused the Lord of Glory Himself to be seen in place of a deceptive phantom that could not stand the test. For though the similar early Christian error with regard to the time of the second coming was on the whole accompanied by blessed results, yet there is a difference between committing an error with regard to a point of future time, and taking the phantom of the Risen Son of God for an (outer) reality.

Such is the significance—qualified, no doubt, but not to be underrated—that the belief in Christ's bodily appearance has for the historical origin of the first Christian Church. But this belief is also important for the vitality of the faith of later generations. The significance of the living super-historical Christ for the founding and permanence of salvation, even in the Pauline Christology, has recently and with justice been emphasised by Schrader (*Die Bedeutung des lebendigen Christus für die Rechtfertigungslehre nach Paulus*, 1895, pp. 12, 27, 30, 182, 184), and Titius, in his newly published book (*Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, 1. *Jesus Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, Freiburg 1895), insists that the covenant concluded in the Lord's Supper can only be realised through God's Spirit and Christ's glorified person (p. 169, etc.). No doubt the fellowship of God in Christ does not,

in the case of believers, depend on the absolute correctness of the notion as to the way it is brought about. A sincere belief in the personal super-historical work of Christ as such is possible even to the advocate of the objective vision. However, it must be admitted that the disciples must have been all the more thoroughly convinced of the presence of Christ in His Spirit, and of the comprehensive and saving activity of the Glorified One in all future time, after He had revealed Himself to them in the body. For us, also, as regards the inner quickening of faith in Christ, the same conviction can have no other than fruitful results.

(i) *General Summary*

Let us now look back over the path we have travelled. The oft-disputed fact of the prediction of the resurrection is not only critically established, but rests psychologically on a basis that cannot be assailed. It is certain that Jesus was conscious of being the Son of God and the Messiah, and clung to this consciousness even in view of His approaching death. He must therefore have been convinced that His personal existence, which was bound, through the closest fellowship of love, to the God of life, could not be destroyed by death, but that, if He should be slain, He would then in a glorified body complete the founding of the kingdom—a work God had reserved for Him alone. In short, He could not have believed

in His death without at the same time being certain of His resurrection.

He must, however, have uttered that revelation in the presence of His disciples in the form of a prediction. The pedagogic reason for this is, that He must have feared that the mere prediction of His death, without that of His resurrection, would plunge them in unbelief and despair. For a dead Messiah was a contradiction in terms.

Accordingly, the prediction of His resurrection, a fact which is a psychological necessity, is confirmed by the unanimous tradition of the New Testament. Moreover, the fixing of the resurrection within three days, after the example of Hosea, probably formed an original part of the prophecy.

On the other hand, as regards its stricter meaning, Jesus' parable of the rich man, and His promise of Paradise to the penitent thief, show that He assumed an immediate passing of departed saints into Heaven, and expected that for Himself. For He knew only a heavenly Paradise. In this, too, He shared the view of at least one part of His people. The application to Himself of that ascent to Heaven which takes place at death, is alone in keeping with His unique and inward fellowship with God. But in that case He could not have thought of a descent into Hades.

Accordingly, as He did not look upon His going to God as dependent on His rising from the dead, the only thing which the resurrection can have

brought about, in accordance with the Pharisees' idea, was the transition into the final kingdom. It entailed, therefore, for His person in particular, the equipment with a glorified body for the purpose of ruling over that kingdom. Accordingly, the three days' space, after which He was to rise, could only have signified to Him a short time, just as it did to Hosea. Strictly speaking, He meant the time which had still to run till that kingdom was set up. Its final term, as we shall see from His prediction of the second coming, is the end of this present generation.

If we compare the fulfilment of the prediction with this meaning of it, the believer knows, in accordance with its religious content, that Jesus was exalted to God as a victorious Messiah at His death, and there He exercises a heavenly Lordship over His people, and certainly also in a glorified body, as He assumed. If, however, He must have expected to receive that body only at His entrance on the dominion of earth, the fulfilment will have outdistanced His expectation here.

The genesis of the disciples' belief in the resurrection must have taken a path somewhat deviating from the view of Jesus. Though overwhelmed by the death of their Master, they soon regained their confidence in His Messiahship. For the divinity of His person was too deeply impressed upon their hearts. And this belief must then have reawakened as a belief in the resurrection. In common with

the vulgar view, however, they expected the resurrection of one who had descended to Hades, and not of one who had ascended to Heaven.

The end He had in view in assuming the glorified body from the grave, was properly the commencement of His dominion over the heavenly kingdom upon earth. But as the disciples, immediately on the genesis of this belief, remembered their Lord's prediction that He would rise on the third day, and as the literal conception of that terminus corresponded to the current Rabbinical exposition, the appearance of the Risen One at that point of time probably formed the object of their longing and secret hope, mixed though that hope might be with suspense and fear.

Now, as a matter of fact, the Risen One repeatedly showed Himself to them as such on the third day, and also later. That raises the question whether we are to ascribe only an inner, or both an inner and an outer reality to these appearances. There can be no doubt that the disciples, as well as Paul, believed in their corporeity. However, the correctness of their psychological judgment about the difference between an objective vision and real bodily appearances is subject to legitimate doubt.

There can, of course, be no thought of mere subjective visions. For the religious content of the revelation that the living God produced directly in the hearts of the disciples, namely, that Jesus is exalted to the right hand of God as the glorified

Messiah, is guaranteed by the truth of Christianity itself.

But though we cannot contest the *possibility* of bodily Christophanies, that does not decide the question whether the outer reality of those appearances is not to be regarded as an error. And that because the objective vision in itself seems fitted to call forth faith in Jesus as a Messianic victor without really prejudicing the religious content.

Now, some admit that visions of the glorified Christ, as the Christ who had gone to Heaven, might have been possible, but not of the Christ who had risen from the grave, as seen by the apostles and Paul. Here they rightly assume that a vision can only be the expression of a view actually existent in the mind, but they wrongly suppose that the disciples were acquainted only with a material, and not rather with a glorified resurrection body. And yet, on an important occasion not long before, the Lord Himself had, in their hearing, maintained against the Sadducees that those who rose from the dead were like the angels. And among the scribes themselves there was a party which had a similar and more spiritual view of the resurrection body. Hence we are not forced to conclude that such a glorified body cannot form the content of a vision, but can only belong to a bodily appearance of Christ.

A greater difficulty as to the vision hypothesis seems to spring from the fact that those phenomena which are of fundamental importance for the

apostles' belief in the resurrection took place as early as the third day after Jesus' execution, and therefore not in Galilee, but to all appearance in Jerusalem. It follows from this that Jesus' grave must have been empty. Otherwise the enemies of Christ would have given the lie to the apostolic preaching about Him who had risen from the grave, by proving the state in which the grave was found. Accordingly, if the advocates of that hypothesis do not recognise the resurrection from the grave, they must admit that the body was removed, for some reason no longer ascertainable, perhaps from superstitious veneration.

However, a possibility of that kind cannot at once be set aside as unworthy of God or as an historical absurdity. For it cannot be directly proved that the same God who gave up His Son to the most cruel death of a malefactor, must necessarily have preserved the disfigured body from an act of superstitious veneration.

Nor would this supposition make the whole course of the world depend on the silence of the unknown actor. This course is not conditioned by the empty grave, but by faith in the Messiah who has gone to the right hand of God. And that faith would have arisen without the empty grave, though in a somewhat different form. For the same reason the salvation of the world would not rest on this error of the resurrection from the grave, if it were an error, but on the belief in the heavenly Messiahship of Jesus. At

least, a similar incorrect notion actually brought great blessing to the first Christians, because it did not concern the content, but only the form of saving faith, namely, the assumption, to be expressly dealt with in our next division, that the second coming of the Lord was to be expected by the generation then living.

If, notwithstanding, there is a reason for assuming the corporeity of the original appearances of Christ, the advocates of this view must above all maintain that the embodied, though glorified, personality of the Christ who appeared was *His very self*. Otherwise they would give up the very thing which constitutes the value of their view as against the vision hypothesis.

The symbolical assumption by the Glorified One of a body in the grave, as well as the transformation of the heavenly body into that which was buried for a time, destroys that identity. Moreover, these notions seem to me to contain something mechanical, indefinite, arbitrary, and even ambiguous, which fails to do sufficient justice to the dignity of Christ. But they are also manifestly a mere expedient of the same fear which produced the vision hypothesis, namely, that a heavenly body cannot reveal itself to the eye of sense. That, however, as we have seen, can by no means be proved to be impossible (p. 92 f.).

Finally, it is very much to be desired, in the interest of the certainty of our conviction, and of the mutual forbearance of Christians, that we clearly

see wherein lies the value of belief in the bodily appearance of Christ—that is, in His resurrection from the grave. The religious kernel is the belief in the exaltation of the Mediator of salvation to the central sphere of religious power. This can be shown to be that which has overcome the world, and still does so. If it had not arisen in the form of the resurrection from the grave, it would, thanks to the power of God and of truth, have appeared in a more spiritual form.

It is therefore an exaggeration of the historical value of that form, and a depreciation of its religious content, to suppose that without it the Christian Church would not have been established. Yet we cannot but admit that the belief in the bodily appearance of Christ must have aided the genesis of belief in the resurrection. It is true that it cannot even be absolutely proved from this that the actual body was necessary.

On the other hand, the assertion that the Church would have been based on a deception if the appearances of Christ had been visions, is true only of the subjective, but not of the objective vision. For this latter does not affect the revelation of the continued victorious life of the Messiah, a revelation which founded the Church. It therefore leaves the proper religious value of that revelation unimpaired. For our salvation depends upon this fact, and not upon the coming forth of Jesus from the grave, which would not even of itself prove His sinlessness.

Whether the Exalted One had no need whatever for a body, or whether He received His glorified body in Heaven or in the grave, are questions which have no importance for our faith in its *saving* aspect.

Nevertheless the idea that we would have only a dead Saviour if Jesus had not risen from the grave, is extremely absurd. It would have a meaning only if the spirit of the Prince of Life had not gone to God, but had been laid with His body in the grave.

But whether Jesus may have been exalted to His position of Divine Ruler by means of the resurrection from the grave, or in a more spiritual form, this form in itself cannot in any way be an object of faith, but only of intellectual conviction. This follows of itself from the strict sense of the evangelic idea of faith. For that is a religious idea. The Christian faith has therefore nothing to do with the historical *conditions* of salvation, but lays hold of the personal God in the exalted Christ, and therewith of salvation as a present possession.

Let us finally sum up our attitude towards the resurrection of Jesus. We also assume it to be an objective fact which is primarily to be taken as supernatural. Its kernel is that Jesus personally as the living Christ is exalted to God, who has transferred to Him the dominion of the religious world. Even now He rules in Heaven in a spiritual body, and on the earth He rules by His Spirit.

We acknowledge further the resurrection of Jesus

in the form of a spiritual body. We hold that He received a spiritual body at His death, and since then dwells with the Father in that body.

But it is also in keeping with the divine plan of salvation and the love of the exalted Mediator to His people, that He should have shown Himself to them in His glorified body as a living Messianic victor. The genesis of the belief in the resurrection is not, indeed, dependent on this conviction, but its inner vitality and self-evident certainty for the first Christians and for all coming generations are, indirectly at least, dependent on it.

Finally, the coming forth of Jesus' body from the grave must at any rate not be conceived in the crass, sensuous way in which we meet with the idea among the common Jewish people, and even partly in the Synoptists (Matt. xxvii. 52 f.).

But though the Lord in His lifetime expected His resurrection not on the third day, but at the epoch of His second coming, this, considering the limitations of the disciples' understanding, could not have prevented the Glorified One from showing Himself to them as alive on the third day.

Here the intimacy of the connection between Jesus' predictions of His resurrection and of His second coming is manifest. It is precisely in the above-mentioned connection that the former cannot be completely understood without the latter. This brings us to our last task, namely, the investigation of our Lord's prediction as to His second coming.



CHAPTER IV



Jesus' Prediction of His Second Coming



CHAPTER IV

JESUS' PREDICTION OF HIS SECOND COMING

WE shall now consider Jesus' prediction of His second coming, a question discussed with special keenness in recent times. Here we have first the historical fact that the whole of early Christendom, without the least exception, most eagerly awaited the personal return of the Lord in its own day, and that the whole character of its practical life bears this peculiar stamp of hope for that event. This is an almost crushing fact for those who would entirely spiritualise or explain away Jesus' prediction of His second advent.

That fact is reinforced by another, namely, that this universal belief of the early Christians is unquestionably derived from the apostles themselves. For we do not find a single passage in the whole New Testament where the sacred writers, including the apostles themselves, so far as the writings go back to them, display any view other than the belief that Jesus will come personally in their generation, and that they will yet live to see this coming (cf., however, p. 169 f.).

1. EXPECTATION OF THE SECOND COMING OUTSIDE
THE SYNOPTICS

In those Epistles of Paul of whose genuineness there is no doubt, the speedy coming of the Lord is repeatedly represented as a self-evident expectation. Nay, the Apostle to the Gentiles confidently assumes that he will live to see it. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians is specially instructive on this point. Believers there were greatly distressed in mind by the death of some of their number. For they feared that those who had fallen asleep might on that account have been deprived of their part in the final kingdom of the returning Christ. They had therefore hoped to experience the longed-for second coming before any of them were visited by death (1 Thess. iv. 13–17). So Paul comforts them with an assumed word of the Lord, “that we which are alive and remain until the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them that are asleep.” On the contrary, “the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first, and then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air” (1 Thess. iv. 15–17).

Here, then, we see that Christians expected that return at the time when the generation of Christ’s contemporaries was beginning to pass away. Paul’s statement assumes it as self-evident that “we” shall

really live to see it. By the "we" must be understood that generation *at the furthest*. But he manifestly hopes to be among them, as he repeatedly includes his own person in this way.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians, which was written some years later, is in complete harmony with this view. There Paul informs the Corinthians as a mystery that "we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed," that is, those who have not fallen asleep or are alive. And this is to take place at the time of the last trumpet, and therefore at the return of Christ to judgment (1 Cor. xv. 51 f., cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16).

In 2 Cor. v. 4, also, he regards it as possible that he may still be among the living at the Lord's second coming. For he desires to be clothed upon, that is, transformed (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 52 ff.), rather than to be unclothed, that is, to die before the second advent. From this, then, it is certain that Paul hoped he would live to see that second coming.

Again, in the Epistle to the Romans, which is some time later, he knows that salvation is now nearer than when "we first believed," and that "the day," that is, the day of the second coming, is at hand (Rom. xiii. 11 f.).

Finally, in the Epistle to the Philippians, which we must number among the latest of Paul's writings, he, no doubt in view of his possible execution, seriously regards his death as perhaps taking place

before the second coming (Phil. i. 20-24, iii. 11). He hopes, however, to be still spared to his Church (i. 25 f.). And when, with this prospect, he, along with his Philippian converts, looks "for the Lord Jesus Christ from Heaven," who will change the body of their humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of His glory (Phil. iii. 20), he here again, in the first instance, at any rate, presupposes their being changed while yet alive.

In a similar way he exhorts his Corinthian community to use the world and its goods in every respect as people who have no permanent possession of them. Hence they are to retain, as far as possible, the worldly position in which Providence has placed them, even though it be a painful one, and to have as little and as loose a connection with the world as they can (1 Cor. vii. 18-24; cf. the whole seventh chapter of 1 Cor.). For it is but a short time to the second coming, and the fashion of this world is already passing away (1 Cor. vii. 29-32).

Now, it is certain that Paul can only have received this hope from the Jewish Christians, and, considering its universality and definiteness, it is more than probably derived from the leading primitive apostles (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 11, 1, 3, xi. 23; Gal. ii. 2, 9). This is confirmed by their writings. If we look upon the Epistle of James as an early Christian writing, we find it exhorting believers to patient endurance under the oppression of the unrighteous and violent rich "till the coming of the Lord," which is already

near, so that the "Judge standeth before the door" (Jas. v. 7-9). Those who are at present oppressed are therefore to live to see the Lord's return.

In like manner the Acts of the Apostles hopes for "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" in the immediate future, when God will send Jesus, whom in the first instance He meant as Messiah of the Jews, and whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things promised by the prophets. But the commencement of this time depends entirely on their conversion (Acts iii. 19-21, 25 f.). The speedy appearance of this parousia is also repeatedly certified in the New Testament Apocalypse (xxii. 12, 20),¹ which expressly delineates the coming of the Lord and the last things, as well as the development of the times till then.

The First Epistle of Peter likewise knows that the end of all things is at hand (iv. 7), and sees in the sufferings of Christians the beginning of the time of judgment which precedes that end, and which must begin at the house of God (iv. 17).

In the same sense, the deutero-Pauline Epistle to the Hebrews exhorts its readers to hold fast the profession of hope without wavering, namely, hope in the blessings of the future kingdom, since He

¹ The Jewish origin of part of the Book of Revelation, that is, the possible transmission of certain portions of it from Babylonian times (*Gunkel Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1895), does not further come into question here, inasmuch as the idea of Jesus' speedy return as the Christ is specifically Christian, in its direct aspect, at any rate.

is faithful who has promised. And so much the more as they see the day approaching (Heb. x. 23, 25). For it is but a very little while, and then He that cometh shall come, and shall not tarry (ver. 37).

But John xx. 17 also shows that the second coming of the Risen One was expected in the immediate future. Mary Magdalene is not allowed here to touch Jesus, because He has "not yet" ascended to His Father. This hope, therefore, is not to be fulfilled to her instantaneously, but when He has ascended. And He is just about to do this. If, therefore, He is to be touched after His ascension, this can only take place at His second coming.

Moreover, the First Epistle of John sees the coming of the last hour in the appearance of the Antichrist and the false prophets (ii. 18). For the present world passeth away, and only he who doeth the will of God abideth for ever, till the future æon (1 John ii. 17).

The author of the Second Epistle of Peter first shows his own and his fellow-Christians' disappointment in this matter, by his endeavours to explain to himself the time of the promise of the second coming (2 Pet. iii. 8). With truly pious mind he indeed traces back the continued existence of the present world to the long-suffering of God, who wills not man's destruction, but his repentance and salvation. But, by pointing out that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand

years as one day, he at the same time endeavours to prove that the non-appearance of the fulfilment is not to be regarded as a delay (ver. 8 f.). But what then can be called so? The appearance of the day of the second coming was expressly promised in their day to the fathers who are asleep, as is clear from the mockery of the unbelievers (ver. 4), and it does not come.

At bottom, indeed, the author is specially anxious to maintain that the promise *will not fail*. For he fights against the conclusion that there is nothing in it (ver. 4). He affirms, in opposition to that, that "the day of the Lord" will come (ver. 10). And indeed the very mockery of the unbelievers proves that the last days predicted have arrived (ver. 3). Hence the readers of the Epistle are to strive zealously by a holy conversation and godliness to look for the coming of this day of God (vers. 11, 12). For it brings unexpected judgment to the godless (ver. 7), but to believers it brings, according to God's promise, a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. As in former days the flood broke out suddenly and unexpectedly over men and destroyed them (vers. 5, 6), so this day of judgment, in which the heavens and the earth are to be burned up, will come suddenly (*ἄξει*) like a thief, notwithstanding the contrary expectation of the mockers (ver. 10).

Accordingly, the importance of the whole unquestionably is, that now, at this very time, the

day of the parousia is momentarily expected, and the present generation is to live to see it, and to hasten its appearance by their pious conversation. The explanation about the thousand years does not perhaps mean that they may have to wait so long, but it justifies the delay that has *hitherto* taken place in the day of the second coming. It is also possible that the author at the same time desired to prevent offence being taken at any future period if the day should be delayed longer than he expects.

Further, we see from the Second Epistle of Peter that, in accordance with the example of the prophets, the form of the second coming is conceived as united with a renewal of heaven and earth. The writer of the Apocalypse views this creation of the New Heaven and the New Earth in the same way as it was commonly conceived by the Jews, who held that the New Jerusalem, till then preserved in Heaven, comes down from Heaven to earth as the dwelling-place of God with men (xxi. 2 f.). But Paul also seems to share that view. For he likewise knows that the glorified body, into which the earthly frame is one day to be changed (1 Cor. xv. 52 f.), is for the present in Heaven (2 Cor. v. 1 f.). He expects it, however, from the same power of Christ in virtue of which He is able to subdue all things to Himself (Phil. iii. 21). The context suggests at least that this subjection will have to be understood as a transformation of the old earth into a new one

in the same way as the old body is transformed into a glorified body.

Finally, the exact form in which the first Christians expected the second coming of the Lord appears most plainly outside the Synoptists (Acts i. 6, 7, 11). The question addressed by the disciples to the Risen One, namely, whether He "at this time" would restore "the kingdom unto Israel," has its root in the above-mentioned view of the first communities, that the setting up of the kingdom was the final aim at least of His resurrection. The words "unto Israel" show that they expected the kingdom to be set up in the old theocratic form. When, in answer to the disciples' question, Jesus replies that it is not for them to know the precise date, the author, at any rate, makes the Lord Himself presuppose the renewal of the theocratic kingdom as a certain fact of the future. But when Jesus adds that the Father makes this moment depend on His own power alone, even Feine (*Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, 1891, p. 163; cf. Weiffenbach, p. 296) sees in that a free reproduction of Mark xiii. 32. These words, therefore, are simply an echo of that passage in which Jesus admits His ignorance of the exact time of the second coming.

Hence, in this passage also, we see that Jesus' second coming to set up the kingdom is expected by the disciples "at this time," that is, very soon, although the exact moment remains undetermined.

Finally, in verse 11, the angels announce to

those watching the ascension of their Lord, that He will come again in like manner as they have seen Him go, namely, to set up the kingdom for which they hoped. The form of the second coming is therefore conceived as visible, that is, as essentially sensuous (1 Thess. iv. 16 f.).

From these passages, which could be easily increased, we see the uniform characteristic nature of the early Christian notion of the second coming. The universal expectation, to which there was no exception, was the coming of the personal Christ (Heb. x. 37) from Heaven (1 Thess. iv. 16; Phil. iii. 20; Acts iii. 20 f., i. 11). He comes down visibly, clothed with God-bestowed majesty (Acts i. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 16), in order to bring in the time of perfection promised by the prophets (Acts iii. 21). In keeping also with the predictions of the prophets (Isa. lxv. 17), the old earth and the old heavens pass away (2 Pet. iii. 10, 12; 1 Cor. vii. 31; 1 John ii. 17), and a new earth and new heavens take their place (2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1, 2). Christ, however, begins His dominion (1 Cor. xv. 25) by setting up, after the judgment, the kingdom of perfection as a universal kingdom (Rom. xi. 25, 26), though in a theocratic form¹ (unto Israel, Acts i. 6, cf. iii. 25 f.).

The day of the second coming itself is always

¹ The well-known contradiction between Paul's untheocratic mission to the Gentiles and this original Jewish Christian view may be left out of account here.

understood as a definite and single moment which is near, and takes place only once. At the same time, it almost everywhere appears plain that it is assumed as taking place in the present generation (1 Thess. iv. 15, 17; 1 Cor. xv. 51 f., vii. 29; Jas. v. 8; 1 Pet. iv. 7; Rev. xxii. 20). It brings the present state of things to an end, and commences a new period (Rev. xxi. 1; 2 Pet. iii. 13, cf. Rom. viii. 18-24, and elsewhere). The decision which it brings is final and accomplished once for all. The writer of the Apocalypse alone inserts a thousand years' kingdom after this day of the second coming, founding on Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog and Magog, and makes the final judgment come in only after that¹ (Rev. xx.). The judgment (cf. Rom. ii. 5-10; 1 Pet. iv. 5; Jas. v. 3-9; 2 Pet. iii. 7, etc.), in Paul's view, also belongs to God (Rom. ii. 16, xiv. 10-12), but is carried out by the returning Christ (1 Cor. xv. 25, iv. 4 f.; 2 Cor. v. 10, cf. Jas. v. 8, 9).

If, then, according to all these New Testament witnesses, the whole of early Christendom unanimously expected the personal Christ to return in majesty from Heaven at a particular and nearly approaching moment, in order to execute judgment and set up the heavenly kingdom on earth, we may at once assume that the notion of the second coming

¹ I cannot, like Schmiedel, recognise an analogy to the thousand years' kingdom even in 1 Cor. xv. 25 (Holtzmann, *H. G.*, on the passage, p. 106 f.; cf., on the other hand, Everling, *l.c.* p. 44 f.).

in the synoptic Gospels will also be similar in these main features.

Owing to the present state of the Johannine question, I purposely leave the fourth Gospel out of account. The agreement of the Synoptists' idea of the second coming with the form hitherto shown, will confirm its originality as against the prevailing Johannine conception. Although, on the whole, this Gospel makes Jesus' constant presence with His people in spirit take the place of the early Christian hope of the second coming, yet in divers passages the earlier notion of a single definite moment of meeting His people again makes itself manifest (John xvi. 16-23, xiv. 3), in the hope of that day (xvi. 23) on which the Lord will take His disciples to Himself, that where He is there they may also be (xiv. 3, xvii. 24).

2. JESUS' PREDICTION OF HIS SECOND COMING IN THE SYNOPTISTS, AND ITS FULFILMENT

Having sought to expound the notion of Paul and the apostles concerning Jesus' second coming, so far as it can be shown in the New Testament, we shall now not only learn this from the Synoptists, but shall rather, in virtue of traditional sayings of the Lord, see Jesus' own conception of His second coming. Here, of course, we must only take into account what is recognised as genuine by every sober-minded critic, and examine what is doubtful ex-

pressly on its own merits. Moreover, we must in general consider the saying detached from its context, if we cannot expressly certify the originality of this connection.¹

Though our discussion aims at the complete abandonment of every prejudice, however legitimate it may appear, we must make the following premise. If it should be found that Jesus had an idea of His second coming entirely different from that of all the disciples and early Christians, though their idea stamped its peculiar character on the whole life of the primitive Church, then such a universal misunderstanding of Jesus by all His adherents must be regarded as quite monstrous, and almost a historical absurdity. This consideration must at least prevent one from attempting an artificial explanation of those passages in the Synoptists that are in agreement with the rest of the New Testament writings.

Our best way of comparing Jesus' expectation of His second coming in the Synoptists with the early Christian idea, will be to fix in succession the fact that Jesus proposed to come again, and then the purpose of that coming. This we shall do by quoting His own sayings. The form and the time of that coming will essentially follow from this comparison. The result will have to be finally examined by the test of fulfilment, and from the moral and

¹ Haupt, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synopt. Evangelien*, Berlin 1895; cf. especially pp. 4-21.

religious standpoint. To understand that fact, however, we must briefly explain Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God.

(a) *Jesus' Conception of the Kingdom of God, and
His Position towards it*

α. *Jesus' Conception of the Kingdom of God
in General*

It may now be regarded as settled, that in the language of the New Testament, and in that of Jesus in particular, kingdom of God nowhere means men themselves, nor even the disciples or first Christians, considered as an ethico-religious organisation (cf. E. Haupt, "Reich Gottes, Gemeinde, Kirche," in the *Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, part i. p. 11; Köstlin, "Die Idee des Reiches Gottes," in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1892, part iii. 1, where he gives a summary of the ideas regarding the kingdom of God in recent theology and philosophy; J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, p. 14 f.). In conformity with the historical development of Israel, Jesus, in the first place, meant by the kingdom of God the perfect dominion of God over His people, and then the sphere of that dominion; in a word, the realised ideal of the national theocracy.¹ This was the very thing that the prophets had promised and hoped that they themselves would live to see. The

¹ Details under "Form of the kingdom of God."

contemporaries of Jesus, in particular, made this kingdom the subject of their most fervent hopes and longings.¹ Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1883), and in particular E. Ehrhardt among more recent critics (*Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu*, 1895), have tried to show the growing transcendence of the conception of this kingdom in the Apocalypses. In the case of the prophets, they say, the future is developed from the present, though miraculously; but in the case of the Apocalypses it comes *ex abrupto*, without being connected with the preceding development, because the present has lost all value (Ehrhardt, p. 25 f.) That is essentially correct. However, the extra-canonical apocalyptic element (directly arising from the circumstances of the time) seems to me to have exercised no great influence on the popular view at the time of Jesus, but rather to have been the favourite occupation of the special professional scholar. Hence, even John the Baptist was not in the position to popularise that learned movement (Titius, *Jesus Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, 1895, p. 5). For the main elements of the new eschatology, resurrection and judgment of the world, as they appear, for example, in the Psalms of Solomon, existed in the devout popular ideas before his day. They were taken, probably as early as the time of the Maccabees, from the current views of the scribes and Pharisees, which found their special support in the canonical Daniel. The whole conduct of the Baptist rather

¹ Cf. Ps. of Solomon xvii. 4, 23, xviii. 6-10.

points to an immediate reawakening of the old prophetism, though with the addition of popular Pharisaic ideas. And, with unique power, Christ renewed that reversion to the old prophetic ideas without showing many traces of a specific Apocalyptic (contemporary) influence. If He had come to fulfil the law and the prophets, He could unquestionably have adopted from that Apocalyptic only what He regarded as such fulfilment. His Old Testament quotations, in general, prove that He ordered all other theological material in accordance with that. Of course He also, like the Baptist, accepted those main elements of Pharisaic teaching which had enriched the popular conceptions of the Messiah. Yet it is instructive to notice how He Himself based the idea of the resurrection, not on those contemporary Apocalypses, and not even on Daniel, but on Ex. iii. 6 (Mark xii. 24-27). Thus it was precisely the element specifically referring to another world in the Apocalypses written by Scripture experts that as such was thoroughly accepted neither by the Baptist nor by Jesus. At least the kingdom of God, though irradiated with heavenly glory, remained as before a kingdom of this world, which God's immediate intervention bestowed on the faithful remnant of His people (see chap. iv. 2c, for the fuller discussion and proof). No doubt the conquest of the enemies of God or of His people, which the old prophets had connected with the commencement of the kingdom, had become more of a forensic act of

judgment since the time of Dan. vii., an act of judgment which, at the same time, chiefly consisted in fixing the eternal lot of these enemies or godless ones.

Now, the Baptist definitely predicted the immediate approach of this kingdom of which the pious contemporaries of Jesus had a presentiment (Luke ii. 29 ff.). His proclamation, that there would come One mightier than he after him, who should baptize with the Spirit (Mark i. 7 f., and parall.), as well as the aim of his baptism of repentance itself, which was an evident preparation for the commencement of the Messianic time, testifies unquestionably to that prophetic consciousness. Hence the words ascribed by Matthew to John and Jesus in the same form, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. iii. 2), prove in substance at least to be historical, for they simply express the ostensible purpose of John's mission. The approach of this same kingdom is now preached by Jesus. Schnedermann, therefore, is right in putting all emphasis on the fact that it was not the subject but the predicate of the theme that was specifically new in Jesus' proclamation.¹ New, indeed, not so much when we look at the outer form as when we consider the special meaning which the announcement must have had on Jesus' lips, and which was to some

¹ *Jesu Verkündigung und Lehre vom Reiche Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, 1873; cf. paragraphs 2, 4, 5, especially pp. 69 ff., 187 ff.

extent opposed to John's. This partly follows from what we have represented as Jesus' fundamental views, but is clear above all from His personal position to the kingdom of God.

We need not here repeat the assurance that Jesus never thought of founding a purely political kingdom, and still less desired to set it up by revolutionary means. Even W. Brandt admits this latter point (*Die Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, p. 449). Though Jesus may have expected the outer form to remain theocratic, yet it follows at once from His principles of inwardness and spirituality that He must have regarded the spiritual dominion of God as the real kernel. From His religious ethicism it necessarily follows that He could only have expected the crown of the kingdom in its final form from God's own hand, and from His universalism that the heathen also, on condition of faith and repentance, should have part in the kingdom in some form. Of this even the Baptist had a presentiment (Luke xiii. 28 f.; Matt. iii. 9). The essence of God's dominion as the ideal of the theocracy must of course have been regarded by the Son of God as consisting in an unlimited realising of God's will (cf. Holtzmann, *l.c.* p. 50). Hence, in His model prayer, the petitions, "Thy kingdom come," "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven," are directly connected (Matt. vi. 10). Even though the genuineness of the latter petition (cf. Luke xi. 2, 3) in this passage should be open to attack, that would make no difference, for Jesus'

personal prayer in Gethsemane proves that He regarded the sovereign will of God, which He felt Himself destined to carry out, as of absolute authority (Mark xiv. 36; Matt. vii. 21; Mark iii. 35; Matt. xviii. 14; John iv. 34, vi. 38). He had resolved, if needful, to sacrifice even His life to that absolute authority in setting up the kingdom.

Now, the completion of God's sovereignty, as the uncontrolled sway of the divine will, aims at nothing else than the salvation of men. For God's will is His purpose of salvation (cf. Haupt, *l.c.* p. 5). This presents the kingdom of God under the aspect of the highest good.¹ Hence, in the parables of the treasure and of the pearl (Matt. xiii. 44, 45), it appears as the summary of the blessings which impart complete enjoyment, and first guarantee the true imperishable content of life (Matt. vi. 19 f.; Luke xii. 21; Mark viii. 36 f.). Hence "eternal life" is represented as an equivalent idea (Mark ix. 45 ff., x. 17, 23). This, however, is "the individual good, as the kingdom is the possession of the community" (Lütgert, *Das Reich Gottes nach den synoptischen Evangelien*, 1895, p. 128; cf. Titius, *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, 1895, p. 30). The standpoint of the highest good so far predominates, that, as a rule, the kingdom of God means the dominion of God

¹ This is also universally recognised by theologians (Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888, p. 112 f.; Haupt, *Reich Gottes*, pp. 6, 7, 9 ff., who in his able discussion emphasises this side somewhat too exclusively; Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judenthum*, 1892, p. 81; Köstlin, *l.c.* pp. 429, 445).

directly viewed in its saving aspect. Hence its proclamation is correctly described by Mark as the *εὐαγγέλιον*, the "glad tidings" (Mark i. 1, cf. Matt. xiii. 44; Luke ii. 10).¹

Accordingly, the phrase "to come into the kingdom of God," and the like, describe not merely entrance into the sphere of God's dominion, but also, and above all, participation in its blessings. Conversely, entrance "into the joy of the Lord" (Matt. xxv. 21, 23) signifies entrance into the final kingdom.

Though the outward extension, as such, of the sphere of God's dominion is alone taken into account in the parable of the mustard seed, yet, in the correlated parable of the leaven, we must think of a full and complete penetration of man's life both subjectively and objectively. That, however, at the same time, involves the penetration of the heart by God's saving purpose (Matt. xiii. 31 f., 33). As men's minds become increasingly in harmony with the divine will, there takes place an ever more complete participation in salvation, and, in consequence of that, an ever more perfect realisation of the will of God among men; they enter more and more completely into it.

But the kingdom of God is not really developed. It is only the participation in the kingdom of God that progresses intensively and extensively. Yet the point of complete development approaches ever

¹ Even though Jesus had not given His preaching this name, yet He was conscious of being a preacher of joy, the bringer of a message of salvation (Luke iv. 18; Matt. xi. 5).

nearer, and along with it the appearance of the kingdom in its eschatological form, when the decision of humanity for or against it is arrived at, and becomes final (Mark xiii. 28 f.; Matt. xiii. 30). God's providence gradually creates the circumstances which constitute the negative condition for that great new creation.

Thus, also, in the parable of the tares in the field, the saving dominion of God, as such, has no real (inner) development. Here we have good seed side by side with the tares; that is to say, alongside the members of the kingdom are those who do not, or do not yet, belong to it. It is not, however, the kingdom of Heaven that ripens, but the membership of these is proved or disproved by their maturity. The result is made manifest at the close, at the harvest (Matt. xiii. 24-30).

In the parable of the sower this diverse development is traced back to its basis in dissimilar qualities of heart (Mark iv. 1-8). In the parable of the growing seed it is again delineated objectively and subjectively as a development which follows purely from laws of the inner life, and comes to an end with the entrance of the decisive day of harvest (Mark iv. 26-29).

β. The Fact of Jesus' Claim to Messiahship

In order to penetrate more deeply into Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God, we must get a

more exact idea of His personal position towards it. It is only by psychological means, however, that this can be fully determined. Reserving this problem till we have answered another question which has an important bearing on this point, namely, what was Jesus' view of the *presence* of the kingdom of God, we meanwhile confine ourselves to that which can be adduced in regard to it from purely historical considerations. For it is quite unnecessary to repeat here the proof that Jesus regarded Himself as the Messiah of the kingdom of God. Although W. Brandt not only denies the historicity of the account of Jesus' trial,¹ but also questions His (symbolical) entrance into Jerusalem as a King (*l.c.* pp. 63, 475), yet even he admits that the Lord in His deepest humiliation recognised Himself at least with full conviction as the Anointed of God, or owned to the procurator that He had to do with bringing about the Messianic future (p. 488). To an unprejudiced mind the confession of Peter (Mark viii. 29, and parall.), the question of Jesus to the elders about the origin of John's baptism (Matt. xxi. 23-27), His words to the scribes regarding the Davidic sonship of the Messiah (Mark xii. 35-37, parall.), His self-designation, "Son of Man," in accordance with Dan. vii., etc., are sufficient proof of His claim to be Messiah. The only question can be whether He looked upon Himself as the expected claimant of the throne, who has only to

¹ By referring to legal enactments in the Talmud whose application to the time of Jesus would have to be shown in detail.

prepare the way for the coming of God's kingdom,¹ or as the actual King of the kingdom which, in a certain sense, was already present. At any rate, He was conscious of being the personal bearer of the kingdom, as God's Vicegerent. Now, in these pages, where we are trying above all to establish the purpose of the Lord's second coming, it is not in itself necessary to consider in detail whether Jesus viewed the kingdom of God as present, though this question is so keenly canvassed in the present day. There can be no doubt that His idea of the kingdom of God was eschatological, in so far as He expected its final form, at any rate, only in the future æon. If, therefore, He ever expected to return, it could only have been to take possession of the dominion of God in its final form. Since, however, the fact that Jesus believed the kingdom of God already present would not only throw a clearer light on His personal position to the idea of the kingdom, but would also affect the time of His second coming, which we mean to discuss farther on, we shall briefly premise our position on this point.

γ. *Jesus' Conception of the Kingdom of God as present*

In the above discussion we have already, on repeated occasions, touched on the notion of the

¹ M. Vernes, *Histoire des idées Messianiques*, pp. 187 f., 192 ff., 198, 221, 232; Schmoller, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, 1891, pp. 97, 192; J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 1892, pp. 24, 54 f., 59 f.).

kingdom of God as already present. The parables referred to above point the way to the solution of the question. When the parable of the mustard seed presents the kingdom of God as constantly extending, and the parable of the leaven describes it as more and more thoroughly penetrating all outer and inner relations, so that participation in it advances intensively and extensively, it is manifestly conceived as present. For the notion of a growing participation in something which is entirely future is an unnatural one. It is the same with the parable of the tares among the wheat, where the children of the kingdom side by side with the children of the Evil One ripen on the field of the world for the day of judgment, which is to separate and decide their lot. In other passages, also, a similar view of Jesus is at least very probable. The scribe, *e.g.* (Mark xii. 34), can only be "far in space" from the kingdom of God—for that is the real meaning of "*μακράν*"—so far as that kingdom is present in time. Here, indeed, the outer distance is metaphorically used for the inner. But the fundamental relation remains the same. The Greek word in question, having no temporal significance whatever, cannot be used, even in the figurative sense, regarding anything not yet existing but only future.

And to break into something which as yet has no existence (Matt. xi. 12 ; Luke xiii. 24), to enter and not enter, or to make one enter into a house which is only to be built later (Mark x. 23-27 ;

Luke xiii. 25; cf. J. Weiss in Meyer's *Commentary*, p. 507), or even to shut the door of a *future* house in one's face (Matt. xxiii. 13; cf. Grimm's *Lexicon to the New Testament*, p. 145, ἔμπροσθεν; and Köstlin, *l.c.* p. 442), are ideas that are far from clear.

The difficulties exhibited by other passages, on the assumption that the kingdom of God is only in the future, have been frequently emphasised, and with special thoroughness, by Wendt ("The Teaching of Jesus," and the corresponding essays in the *Christliche Welt*, 1893, nos. 15-19). Hence they need no further discussion here. We need only quote Bousset's excellent remarks in reference to the fact that Jesus calls the least in the kingdom of heaven greater than the Baptist (Mark xi. 11): "The words cannot possibly be used here proleptically of the future kingdom of God. Jesus, who represents the future kingdom as a sitting at table with the patriarchs, cannot have assigned to the greatest of the old covenant the least place in the kingdom of Heaven, or scarcely any place at all. The words here must refer to the present temper and disposition, and to those who in some way are already in the kingdom of God" (*Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judenthum*, 1892, p. 92). Many words which speak of entering into the kingdom of God and the like (Mark x. 14 f.), might in themselves be referred to its future perfect form. But when we put them alongside of such characteristic sayings

as those just referred to, we see the awkwardness of the exposition.

Another series of passages in which Jesus regards the Messianic time of perfection as unquestionably existent, and Himself as the bringer of it, proves even more convincingly that He knew the kingdom of God to be already present in a certain sense. Let us first consider that celebrated text of Jesus' sermon at Nazareth, which Luke presents (iv. 18 f.) in a free rendering of Isa. lxi. 1, 2.¹ In the synagogue of His native town Jesus now tells His hearers that that saying of the prophet is "this day fulfilled in their ears" (Luke iv. 21). But this fulfilment can only consist in the fact that "the voice of the herald predicted by the prophet has fallen on their ears."² For the prophet does not predict any preacher of a message of salvation, being himself the messenger,³ but rather the commencement of the time of salvation. Accordingly, Jesus must regard the present ("this day") fulfilment as depending on the time alone. But the prophecy is fulfilled "in their ears," inasmuch as the very person that brings this

¹ There is no reason for critical doubt. It rests rather on a firm Jewish Christian tradition (Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, 1891, pp. 42-44). "A special tradition of Luke is here connected with reminiscences of Matt. vi. 1-6" (John Weiss, *Comm. zu Lukas*, 1892, p. 363).

² Contrary to the opinion of John Weiss, *Lukas Comm.*, p. 365.

³ Cf. Bredenkamp, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 339 f.; Knobel-Diestel, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 4th ed., p. 486 f., as well as his excellent treatise on the *Servant of Jehovah*, pp. 427-437, contrary to the opinion of Delitzsch.

era stands before them in Him who now proclaims to them its commencement. Moreover, Jesus' text resembles in meaning His reply to the Baptist's question as to His Messianship (Matt. xi. 4-6). Here also the tokens by which the Baptist is to recognise the present fulfilment of the Messianic time are essentially the same marks as those emphasised by Jesus at Nazareth. But if He there sees the time of perfection in the present, the similar words of His sermon at Nazareth can have no other meaning.

This is also confirmed by another utterance in Luke. The disciples who are sent out on a missionary journey inform Jesus with joy and pride that even the devils are subject to them in His name (Luke x. 17). Jesus sees in that a guarantee for the victory over Satan and evil spirits, and an assurance to the disciples of their possession of eternal life, and of their membership in the kingdom of Heaven (vv. 18-20). Hence He praises His Almighty Father for the divine revelation imparted to those babes (ver. 21), from which they have derived that power. And this could only have been communicated to them through Jesus. For He alone has been called to reveal the Father whom the Son only knows (ver. 22). When, on this occasion, He turns to the disciples with the words, "Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see"—a blessedness which many kings and prophets failed to attain—His exultation is again, no doubt, due to signs that the time of salvation, of which His disciples are even

now permitted to have personal experience, is already beginning to dawn.¹ A comparison of the passages just discussed (Matt. xi. 3-5, with Luke iv. 18-21, and x. 23 f.) makes it quite clear that Jesus knows the time of salvation has begun with His coming. But, according to the view of all the prophets and of Judaism, this time appears to be brought about by the dominion of God.

And now it cannot be said again, that the bringer of salvation had indeed come, but the salvation which He was to bring was still in the future. On the contrary, Jesus teaches that the commencement of the time of salvation may be seen in the presence of the blessings of salvation (Matt. xi. 4 f.; Luke iv. 18 f., x. 23 f.).²

The objection might now be raised that the strict conception of the beginning of the state of perfection presupposed, indeed, the presence of the kingdom of God and its founding, but that Jesus need not necessarily have bound Himself to that conception in His utterances. A blessing of no ordinary kind, namely, the assurance, and in a certain sense the first-fruits, of that state of perfection is already found in the fact that He is present as the preparer and future

¹ The connection of ver. 23 with the preceding seems to be historical, since Jesus can only have said the like on this, or on a similar occasion.

² Jesus undoubtedly shows, though only indirectly, that He Himself is the bringer (Luke iv. 21; Matt. xi. 3 ff.; Luke x. 18). In Matthew, also, we find on this occasion only a slight indication of His Messiahship (Matt. xi. 3 ff.).

King of the kingdom of God. Hence, He might quite well consider that state of salvation as beginning with His own appearance, without necessarily knowing that the kingdom of God was already present.

This possibility in itself cannot be absolutely denied. Yet such a separation of the conceptions of the time of perfection and of the kingdom of God would be surprising, considering that Jesus in such matters was so manifestly dependent on the ideas of His time and of the prophets in particular.

But the following considerations deprive that view of all biblical support. The very wording of His text, "The (definite) time (*καιρός*) is fulfilled (*πεπλήρωται*), and the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark i. 15), means that the time up to the last particle is full and therefore expired, the moment of actual "being at hand" is then fully come (observe the "and" is at hand, etc.). Thus, in this passage, the immediate context undoubtedly requires that "*ἡγγικεν*" be rendered "the kingdom of God has come" (cf. Matt. xxvi. 45).¹

And yet I see no reason to assume that the shorter wording of the parallel passage in Matthew is the more original. On the contrary, both in this and other cases, the first Evangelist seems to be dependent on the second as regards the specially

¹ No doubt the words "is at hand" (*ἡγγικεν*) need not of themselves be implicitly taken as a perfect absolute, that is, in the sense that it has already completed its approach and has come. For, Rom. xiii. 12, Jas. v. 8, *e.g.*, undoubtedly mean "it is near" (*ἐγγίζει*). Cf., in particular, J. Weiss, *D. Predigt Jesu*, p. 12 f.

historical paragraphs. Moreover, he evidently follows the thread of the second Evangelist (cf. Mark i. 15, 16, with Matt. iv. 17, 18). Only between Mark i. 14, 15, he inserts a historical notice for which no sufficient reason can be assigned (Matt. iv. 13), and a dogmatic addition (iv. 14-16) of his own (Simons, *Hat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Matthaus benutzt?* 1880, pp. 27-29).

B. Weiss is convinced that the formulation of the message is the work of Mark. Yet he sees in the wording of Matthew the "writer who reflects upon the text of Mark" (*Das Markusevangelium*, p. 53 f.). Consequently, he recognises in this passage also the essential dependence of Matthew on Mark. Now, though Mark may have formulated the details of the theme in other respects (Weiss, *l.c.*), yet the saying "the time is fulfilled," in substance at least, rests on a genuine tradition. For if, as already shown, Jesus lays such emphasis on the fact that with His appearance the time is fulfilled, that saying seems almost an integral part of the essential contents of Jesus' preaching. Matthew may have omitted the introductory words of Mark as well as the expression "believe the glad tidings" (cf. Weiss, *l.c.* p. 54). They may have appeared to him pleonastic, especially when he understood the phrase immediately following, namely, "the kingdom of God is at hand," as the actual existence of that kingdom.

Now, if we consider these reasons for Jesus viewing the kingdom of God as present, and then come

upon a saying such as that which He addresses to the Pharisees, "But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you with surprise,"¹ so plain a declaration cannot fail to be of decisive importance (Matt. xii. 28, cf. Luke x. 9). The genuineness of this saying of the Lord (Matt. xii. 28) inserted in Mark's account (between iii. 26 and 27), in virtue of the Logia, is specially confirmed by internal grounds. In the case of Mark the context presupposes that Jesus casts out devils by His Spirit. For this Evangelist closes the corresponding paragraph with the threatening warning that all other sins and blasphemies could be forgiven to the children of men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost would never be forgiven (Mark iii. 28 f., cf. iii. 22-30).²

If, therefore, the scribes, in taunting Jesus with casting out devils by Beelzebub (Mark iii. 32), were blaspheming the Holy Spirit, Mark also must look upon that exorcism as due to the power of the Spirit. But if the people acknowledged none as endowed with the Divine Spirit except its leaders, and especially the great prophets of an earlier period, that Spirit having withdrawn from Israel since the days of Malachi (Kohélet rabba, 84^a;

¹ ἔφθασεν = sooner than you think. This is also the view of Grass, *Das von Jesu geforderte Verhalten zum Reiche Gottes*, 1895, p. 72.

² The correct position of this saying in Mark as opposed to Luke, who inserts it in a context having no reference to blasphemy (Luke xii. 9-10), is also confirmed by Matthew (xii. 31).

Weber, p. 187), and if the Baptist ascribed the renewed possession of this Spirit to the Messiah alone, we not only understand the grandeur of Jesus' self-consciousness, but also comprehend that when He cast out demons by the power of this Spirit, the Messianic time and the kingdom of God must have come.

After such a declaration, we need not be surprised when in that other passage Jesus says plainly to the same opponents, "Behold, the kingdom of God is in your midst" (Luke xvii. 21).¹ The thought in the latter statement is the same as that in the former. The victories over the kingdom of evil which Jesus is at present achieving in their midst by virtue of the Divine Spirit, should prove, even to the Pharisees, that "the dominion of God has already begun" (John Weiss, *Lukas Comm.*, p. 556). He Himself, as "anointed with the Spirit" (Luke iv. 18), as "He who should come" (Matt. xi. 3 f.), as "the Holy One of God" (Mark i. 24; John vi. 69, x. 36), now brings it. As it was proved to be at hand by the abundance of His mighty deeds (Matt. xi. 4 ff.), and by His revelation of salvation, as well as the conquest of demons on the part of the disciples (Luke x. 17-24), so here again it was evinced by the conquest of demons (Matt. xii. 28, and parall.) and its necessary presupposition, namely, Jesus' victory over the "strong" ruler of the evil spirits, Satan himself (vv. 29, 24, 26), which He

¹ Colani also points out these two main passages.

had already gained in the wilderness before His entrance on His ministry (cf. B. Weiss on the passage, as well as J. Weiss, *D. Predigt Jesu*, pp. 23, 39). Hence, on this side, the guarantee for the existence of the kingdom of God lies finally in the victorious conflict waged by the Saviour against the sin of humanity (Luke xix. 10). The deliverance from demons was only an incidental result of that conflict, though certainly a strong witness to it (cf. Holtzmann, *H. C.*, pp. 174 and 128).

This ought to be a sufficient guarantee of Jesus' consciousness that the kingdom of God was present. When J. Weiss makes Jesus speak of a present kingdom of God (only) at the zenith of His consciousness, and indeed in "moments of prophetic inspiration," as conqueror of the devil (*Comm. zu Lukas*, xi. 20, xvii. 20 f.; *Predigt Jesu*, p. 21), he is viewing the matter in a too disproportionate way. Yet I see no reason why he should deny the inference that Jesus regarded the kingdom of God as existent in its incipient form at least. For if "the dominion of God is really beginning to take the place of the dominion of Satan" (*Lk. Comm.*, p. 472; *Predigt Jesu*, p. 22) through the casting out of demons by the Lord, these events are not merely "super-historical," but beginnings of God's dominion on the earth.

The same holds good of Schmoller's *Prolepsis* of the parousia (*l.c.* p. 41 f.). E. Ehrhardt, also, who on this point partly depends on J. Weiss, conceives

the kingdom of God in a purely eschatological sense (*l.c.* p. 48 f.), and sees it to be present in a kind of way only in "heralding symptoms" (p. 50 ff.) which make Jesus appear the herald of the time of salvation, and this period "in certain moments as a time already present" (p. 90). Although the metaphysical other world, developed into a religious power, exists in Jesus' soul not only as a future but as a present, and indeed as a "truly higher other world" (p. 77), and this world secures for Him the possession of the real religious side of the Messianic salvation as something present (p. 90), yet this coexistence of the two worlds, or, in other words, the presence of the kingdom of God, exists only "for His religious feeling," but not for "His theoretic thinking" (p. 77).

Schneidermann also makes Jesus regard the period of the "*ἔσχατα*" as beginning with His time (p. 187), but, in respect to His proclamation, "the kingdom of God is at hand" (pp. 71, 192), views the presence of that kingdom as a question of no great importance, and one that cannot be answered with certainty. But, as he also recognises Jesus' nearness to God as the kernel of the kingdom, so that it "was in principle given in Him" (p. 193), he deems it possible that Jesus possessed in Himself the certainty of its being present.

O. Holtzmann recognises in the divine life of Jesus, and especially in His "new" intercourse with sinners, the presence of the will, and consequently, of the kingdom of God as His sovereignty (pp. 48, 50, 53),

though he also fails to harmonise sufficiently the present with the future kingdom of God (pp. 53-55), in which case also sufficient account is not taken of the Israelitish "husk." This, however, touches on the psychical origin of Jesus' view, which we shall immediately proceed to discuss.¹

Moreover, Jesus' conception of the present existence of the kingdom of God cannot have been developed at a late stage of His ministry. On the contrary, He must have had it at an early period. To begin with, those utterances that express Jesus' consciousness of His position towards the time of perfection belong to the earlier period of His ministry. The answer to the Baptist's question regarding His Messiahship must belong to the early days of His public life, since John was not yet put to death. His sermon at Nazareth must likewise be placed before the climax of His work in Galilee (Holtzmann, *H. C.*, p. 10). So also the return of the disciples from their "first missionary journey," which took place somewhat later, and the results of which were so joyfully hailed by Jesus. We must remember, however, that the answer to John, as well as the sermon at Nazareth, are simply variations of the well-known main theme of His gospel, that the kingdom of Heaven is at hand (Mark i. 15). Since, as will be shown more plainly, His Messianic self-consciousness was

¹ The views of Lütgert, Grass, and Titius about the presence of the kingdom of God should, for this reason, be compared in the psychological paragraph "*d*," which treats of this point.

formed on the basis of His divine Sonship, it is highly improbable that the development of the former was not in everything essential finished with His entrance on His ministry. But then it follows from the theme of His preaching, that from the beginning of His ministry Jesus had the consciousness that the kingdom of God was present.

Notwithstanding all this, the full idea of the kingdom of God as viewed by Jesus could only, of course, be realised by its perfect form. And so far it could only have been after His exaltation that the Lord regarded Himself as Messiah in the full effective sense. Hence it will be no contradiction to Jesus' conception, when, according to Acts ii. 36, God makes the Crucified, Messiah, though, as we have already seen, He repeatedly made this claim during His lifetime. He did so, no doubt, only as *claimant* to the throne *in its fully established form* (Weiss, *Jesu Predigt*, p. 59), but as founder and ruler of the dominion of God in its present initial stage.

δ. *The Origin of the Idea of the Presence of the Kingdom of God in the Consciousness of Jesus, and the Essence of His (present) Messiahship*

Having sufficiently established the reality of Jesus' conception of the final kingdom as of one already present, let us now fix our attention on the psychological origin of such an idea of the kingdom in the

peculiar character of Jesus' self-consciousness. Thus only shall we fully understand the significance which Jesus' Messiahship had for Himself.

Surrounded by sinful contemporaries, whose moral corruption He knew, and whose resistance to the truth which He proclaimed, and which alone could bring deliverance, made Him look for the fate of a prophet (Matt. xi. 16-25, xii. 30-45, xxiii. 13-37 (cf. especially ver. 37); Mark ix. 12 f., 19; Luke xvii. 25, xiii. 33, xix. 42, xxiii. 28-31; Mark viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 32 ff.), He yet dared to regard and to describe the perfect kingdom as already begun. It follows necessarily from this, that, in virtue of an indisputable experience which nullified the significance of all those apparent hindrances, He could still guarantee that the kingdom of God had come. And when Jesus certifies such things (Matt. xii. 28), that assurance cannot be the expression of a momentary and half-unguarded ebullition of feeling, or of a presentiment that surprises Himself, to say nothing of an unconsidered enthusiasm. It must rather be thought of only as a knowledge received with sobriety of mind, and truthfully proclaimed. That alone is in keeping with the discipline which He at all times exercised over all His thoughts and feelings (Mark i. 11 f.; Luke vi. 12 f.; John vi. 14 f.; Mark xiv. 32, 38).

That experience which enabled Jesus to certify that the kingdom had come, cannot, however, have had its seat outside. Where, then, should it have had

its seat? The place of its existence must have been His own sphere of action, and even in the end His own soul.

No doubt Jesus' testimony that the kingdom of God had come, and that the time of salvation had commenced (Matt. xii. 28, cf. Luke x. 17 ff.; Matt. xi. 3 ff.; Luke iv. 18-21), was in the first instance occasioned by the abundance of His miraculous healings and divine deeds, as well as, in particular, by the evidence of His personal power over the demons, in which He saw His victory over evil made manifest. But yet He generally points to these as outer signs for Himself and others, as marks by which it might be seen that the kingdom of God had come. Above all, this presence of the kingdom confronted Him in the one perfect revelation of God, which, concealed from the eyes of the world, He was able to communicate to His people, and which was based on His unique relation of Sonship. This already points to the very heart of His self-consciousness. It was only by the inner experience of Jesus Himself that His call to be the present bringer of that kingdom could be ultimately tested. For it was rooted in the moral and religious nature of His personality.

And still more. This call itself could only, in the first instance, have had an existence in His person. If Jesus really meant to testify that the kingdom of God had come in any form (Luke xvii. 20), He must not merely have felt that He was "the coming One" (Matt. xi. 3), through whom, as His organ, God was

even now about to bring the kingdom, that is to say, directly preparing its advent. For in that case it was not yet in existence. He must rather have experienced in Himself the existence of the kingdom of God.¹ This shows us, then, that Jesus' view of the present existence of the kingdom of God, which has been proved exegetically, is logically and psychologically necessary. For, in keeping with the manner in which the consciousness of His Messianic calling originated on the basis of His divine Sonship, the Fatherhood of God remained for Him the kernel of the dominion of God which He sought to bring.² His calling as Mediator first dawned on Him as the vocation to lead men into the same communion

¹ Cf. Baldensperger, *l.c.* p. 109.

² With regard to the divine Sonship of Jesus, cf. B. Weiss, *Biblical Theology*, § 17. This is not the place to enter in detail into the relation of the theocratic to the religious position of sons of God. Yet I must hold to the priority of the latter, in opposition to Baldensperger (p. 160 f.). Nothing but a conviction on the part of the Sinless One that His own nature already gave Him personal possession of salvation in His unlimited communion with God as His Father, could have been to Him, son of a carpenter as He was, the presupposition, the cause, the mainspring of the sublime perception that He was called to be Messiah, the Mediator of salvation for His people, the Judge of the world (J. Weiss also deduces Jesus' Messianic consciousness from His unique consciousness of Sonship). On the other hand, to one who had always felt Himself to be a Son of God, the Messianic call cannot have first come "suddenly and surprisingly at the baptism" (Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, i. 67). The truth rather is that His Messianic consciousness seems here to have come to decided practical awakening, in virtue of the divine enlightenment that the time was ripe for His actual appearance. There is, of course, no doubt of this in the temptation in the wilderness (Wendt, p. 69); these doubts rather referred to the difficulty of carrying out the Messianic task.

with God as that which He enjoyed, that is, to make them also children of God. This first made Him conscious that He was Messiah, and that His task was to found the kingdom of God. Hence the new personal relation which Jesus must have regarded as constituting the essence and foundation of the kingdom of God necessarily remained the divine Sonship of His fellow-members.

God's own share in realising this ideal could only have consisted in His guaranteeing, like a true Father, His fellowship of salvation to men as a whole and individually. This is effected by determining their wills according to His perfect loving will, and imparting to them all the blessings contained and involved in fellowship with Him. And again, on the part of man, that dominion consists in receiving those blessings of salvation with grateful joy in childlike obedience to the divine saving will.

In this sense of the full Fatherhood of God, the dominion of God was really in existence already; it was really present, though it first began to create a sphere for itself from the centre. For Jesus found the divine Sonship even then perfectly realised in Himself. Hence He could not but perceive that in Him and through Him the kingdom of God had already come to earth. He was conscious of submitting in perfect obedience to His Father's saving will, so that His life and being were given up to the task of fulfilling it towards men (Matt. v. 17; John iv. 34). On the other hand, however, He felt the

entire favour of His Father resting on Him, and lived in the constant enjoyment of the inner blessings of His fellowship. And, finally, the mighty kingly action of God, which was one day to fill the whole world, was already made manifest in His deeds of power and in His victorious conflict with the prince of this world.

Further, as the aim of His life was to increase the number of God's children, He must have been conscious that God's kingdom was even now about to embrace and admit others through His instrumentality. He must therefore have known that the kingdom of God existed at least in principle and incipiently, not only in Himself, but also in the circle of His disciples. And this was in point of fact the case. For He unhesitatingly reckoned them with Himself among the sons of the great King (Matt. xvii. 25 f., v. 35). He Himself had in principle and fundamentally established this dominion of God among them, by revealing to them the divine purpose of salvation (Luke x. 21; Matt. xvi. 17), and by placing them under the influence of His redeeming word, which begets children of the kingdom (Mark iv. 3, 26; Matt. xiii. 24; cf. Köstlin, p. 431 ff.). And they had believingly accepted the will of God revealed to them, and yielded themselves to it in childlike, obedience. They had left all to follow Him, and following their Master's example, had devoted themselves to His divine work of proclaiming the kingdom,

persisting in the service of God and of their Master in spite of all temptation to the contrary (Mark x. 28 f., vi. 12 f., viii. 35 ff.; Luke xxii. 28). Nay, they also, by their own deeds of power in the service of God's dominion, had contributed their share to the conquering of Satan, and had themselves thereby become witnesses to the existence of the kingdom of God, or rather had helped to bring it (Luke x. 17-19, cf. xi. 20). Thus they really showed in their whole practice that they were the children of their Father in Heaven (Matt. v. 48).

Again, Jesus put them in possession of the most essential blessings that are involved in the divine Sonship. They had not only received the true revelation of God, but already enjoyed the most essential blessings of the time of salvation which that revelation brought about (Luke x. 23 f.), forgiveness of sins, rest and peace in their souls, the consciousness of their Heavenly Father's favour and the assurance of His care for their eternal and temporal welfare, and the possession of the Divine Spirit (Matt. xi. 29, x. 13; Luke x. 20; Matt. x. 19 f., 28-31, vi. 8, 11, 25-34, especially vv. 26, 30, 32 f.). Besides this, there was the special dignity which they had in the eyes of God as preachers of the gospel, a dignity that was equal to that of Jesus and of God Himself, in whose name and by whose authority their proclamation was made (Matt. x. 40-42, xxv. 35-40, 45). They

could also give practical proof of their fellowship with God in constant filial prayer and in asking for everything they needed (Matt. vi. 9-13).

Jesus therefore, in virtue of their present attitude towards God and His will, and of the divine attitude towards them, assures them of their membership in the kingdom of God (Luke x. 20, 22, 29 f.; Mark x. 28-30; Luke xii. 32). Of course, in the passages referred to, what He directly promises them is only the *future* kingdom of perfection. We cannot therefore, on purely exegetical grounds, absolutely infer from this that He regards them as already members of the *present* kingdom. But, in accordance with what has been already said, we may be allowed to conjecture that Jesus here simply presupposed their possession of that membership also. For, as we have seen, the filial obedience of the disciples towards their Heavenly Father, their immediate childlike intercourse with Him, and their enjoyment of the essential blessings of that fellowship, were regarded by Jesus as constituting the kernel of God's dominion. Though this kingdom was not yet perfectly realised in the disciples, as it was in Himself, the Father's position towards them was similar to that of the Father towards Him. Hence He could only regard their select circle as the primitive sphere of the dominion of God.¹ On these grounds Jesus was entitled to assure the Pharisees that it was already in existence, in their

¹ Cf. Schmoller, *l.c.* p. 128.

midst (Luke xvii. 21), although it had not yet appeared on earth in its perfect heavenly form.

If, indeed, the real kernel of the kingdom of God were not the inward, and if Jesus Himself had not necessarily regarded it as such, then He could only have viewed it as a future kingdom. But if, conversely, He could not but conceive it as an inward kingdom, it is hardly conceivable that He could fail to see that it was already in existence.

As it follows, from the manner in which Jesus' consciousness of being Saviour arose, that the concept has a spiritual content, so also this spirituality is essential to the abstract notion of the ideal dominion. This can only be a perfect dominion when the will of another is obeyed voluntarily and immediately. Hence the only true dominion is that over the heart. For it alone requires neither outward constraint nor outward mediation, but is immediately effected by the obedient heart. And dominion has its real place of existence only in the relation of two wills to one another. Accordingly, as the ideal of God's dominion demands that the will of God be entirely identified with our own, so here it is shown that the essence of the kingdom of God necessarily lies in its inwardness.

Finally, it is manifest, from what has been already said, that the true and most essential divine gifts, which constitute the other side of the kingdom of God, can only, in Jesus' view, be the eternal, imperishable, and therefore inward blessings (Matt. vi.

19-21, 33; Luke xii. 21). This alone is in keeping with His fundamental conception. For we have seen that to Him the inward, the spiritual, and the purely moral and religious elements are the necessary marks of all that is connected with God, that is to say, of everything possessing religious significance and religious value. That which does not possess these marks, as for example the mere outer form in which the kingdom of God appears, cannot therefore be regarded by Jesus as belonging to the real essence of the matter, which in this case is the kingdom of God.

Jesus' specific Messianic activity, even in His lifetime, consists therefore in the (absolutely) successful furtherance of the divine will, whereby He brings salvation. Yet the two aspects of His ministry, preaching and healing the sick, must not, under this point of view, be held rigorously apart. For if, through the latter, and especially through the victories over Satanic powers, He proves the might of God's will, He does so also in behoof of the ethical purpose of the kingdom that is to bring (inner) salvation to men. Hence the proclamation of the word of God, which, outwardly considered, seems to be merely prophetic, is just the most perfect mode of Jesus' Messianic activity. For here He is directly founding the kingdom, inasmuch as He is creating members for it by bringing men within the sphere of the authority, the power, and the salvation of the divine dominion, now essentially

existent, though in an incipient form. Thus He imparts to them in a true Messianic way the blessing which the prophets only promise.

If, from this point, we take a brief survey of the most recent conceptions of the content of Jesus' Messianic self-consciousness, we find J. Weiss emphasising as the chief blessing of the future kingdom of God, the deliverance of the people from their enemies as well as from all bodily and mental suffering; in a word, from the entire dominion of Satan (pp. 39, 40). This definition is neither positive nor comprehensive enough for me (see besides the later conception of Grass, in which the fundamental thought is in part re-echoed). It is consistent with the purely eschatological definition of J. Weiss, when, on the other hand, he denies the Messianic activity of Jesus, and ascribes to Him only the preparatory and prophetic. This view rests on a denial that Jesus looked upon the kingdom of God as essentially present. Even the "non-Messianic activity" cannot at once be inferred from the external similarity of theme in the preaching of Jesus and of the Baptist (*Die Predigt Jesu*, p. 24).

In opposition to that, E. Ehrhardt (*Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu*, 1895) holds that Jesus, even in His lifetime, was conscious of being Messiah, because He knew that He was the bringer of salvation to God's people; but he, too, thinks that in Jesus' own view the revelation of this salvation, taken in a religious sense, was not properly a Messianic but a prophetic

work. The theocratic development of Jesus' consciousness of Sonship is rather regarded by Ehrhardt as starting from His social activity, and as referring to the moral salvation of His own people in this world (pp. 106 f., 100). As a present Messiah, He gives expression, as far as possible, to the will of God (p. 107) by doing good, healing the sick, and a masterful reassertion of the law, by an organising activity, and especially by the creation of a moral organism in the circle of disciples (pp. 99 f., 106 f.). This standpoint, according to the above, is materially correct, but not exhaustive. And this is because it is just the specific Messianic founding of the kingdom of God *by the word* that Ehrhardt fails to perceive.

On the other hand, Lütgert (*Das Reich Gottes in den synoptischen Evangelien*, 1895), in essential agreement with me, recognises the presence of God's dominion, and therewith of the Messianic activity of Jesus in the redeeming and renewing power and goodness of that presence. For the sovereignty and acts of God, whose Spirit works in Jesus as its instrument (pp. 71, 82, 153), are existent in these (pp. 64 ff., 96, 99, 107, 119, 121), so that Jesus Himself bears the kingdom of God within His own soul (pp. 112, 120 f.). Thus he recognises in particular that God's working is present in the word (p. 101), in which word, therefore, the kingdom of God comes to the hearers. In like manner he rightly emphasises the identity of this kingdom with that

which existed in the old theocracy. But in the law and the prophets Israel possessed it only as a kingdom of the other world (p. 122), while in Christ, its Bearer and Mediator, it exists as present, permanent, final, and in its whole inner fulness (pp. 122, 125). To me, however, Lütger's opposition to those who conceive the kingdom of God in a purely eschatological sense, appears rather overstrained, inasmuch as he sometimes seems to consider nothing wanting to the final kingdom but the making manifest of what exists in secret. But the transformation of the world cannot be comprehended in that. For this involves not only the existing moral and religious content, but a new metaphysical form (pp. 161, 163 f.).

Grass, in his essay on *Das von Jesu geforderte Verhalten zum Reiche Gottes* (in the *Mitteilungen und Berichte für die ev. Kirche Russlands*, vol. 51, Feb. and March 1895), considers God's sovereignty as a redeeming, victorious, and triumphant conflict—primarily in favour of the Jews—with the ungodly powers that enslave men physically and ethically, namely, the devil, the world, and sin (pp. 67 f., 71 f.). Christ establishes this sway by the miracles He performs in the exercise of His ministry, and, what is still more important, by facilitating God's inner sovereignty both through preaching and the remission of sins (pp. 70, 72, 74, 77, cf. pp. 81, 142). So far as God, through the historical Christ, is beginning to overcome those powers, Jesus and His

disciples are already hastening on the dominion of God as one that is initially present (pp. 52, 67 f., 71, 76; Matt. xi. 12).

I cannot in the first instance recognise God's enemies as the object of His dominion, but only, as in the old theocracy, the people whose King He is. The victory over the former, with which Grass partly confuses the real dominion, can only be regarded as something involved in founding the kingdom, or as an initial judicial function of its Ruler (cf. p. 105); all the more that the enemies are at once given over to destruction at the beginning of the final kingdom. The Messiah rules not only "for the advantage" of His people, but rather over them (p. 105). The definition of the idea, therefore, really hits upon the essential thing, but is conceived too negatively.

Finally, Titius, in his treatise (*Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, 1895), sees the divine sovereignty in God's "exclusive sway, and the obtaining of their rights by His saints" (p. 37), and, like Lütgert, Grass, and myself, defines it as a carrying out by God of His gracious purpose of salvation towards Israel in face of the hostile powers of the world, and an equal fulfilment of His sovereign will both on earth and in Heaven (p. 37). Again, he describes the kingdom of God correctly as the kingdom of unrestrained love and fellowship with God (p. 57), and sees the kernel of God's idea in His fatherly love and communion (pp. 115, 192 f.). He sees also in that

kingdom the "complex of all God's manifestations of grace," and its highest good in divine Sonship (p. 138). So far as these have a pneumatic, and, for the time being, transcendental existence in the person of Jesus, but are found spiritually in the blessings presented in the gospel (p. 193), the kingdom of God is already present with the Lord (pp. 137 f., 193). Since, on the one hand, the fatherly love of God, as well as the powers of the world to come, which are one day to transform Heaven and earth, are already at Jesus' disposal as veiled manifestations of the divine glory (pp. 49, 51, 121); and since, on the other hand, His forgiveness of sin, communication of the knowledge of God, and exhortation to righteousness, are already an anticipation of the future divine judgment, fellowship with God and perfection (p. 125); He must have been conscious of "having already entered on the dominion which belongs to the Messiah" (p. 47), and of already imparting the most essential blessings of God's kingdom, though in an inadequate manner, by means of that dominion (pp. 128, 137 f.).

We have noted how Jesus, in keeping with the peculiarity of His Messianic consciousness, must have regarded, and did regard, the dominion of God as the realising of the divine purpose of salvation, beginning with Israel. We have seen, moreover, how He recognised Himself as directly commissioned and qualified by God to inaugurate that dominion, to further it even now by word and work, to enlist

its members, and communicate to them its heavenly blessings. We cannot therefore be surprised if He was unable to select for the kingdom of God which is from Heaven (cf. Mark xi. 30), any more fitting name than the "kingdom of Heaven" (cf. E. Haupt, "Reich Gottes, Gemeinde, Kirche," in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, ii. 1, 1892, p. 9), especially as He conceived it in express opposition to the outward political expectations of His people, and according to the model of the dominion of the divine will already realised in Heaven (Matt. vi. 10). Accordingly, this kingdom is called the "kingdom of Heaven," because it is from Heaven, is founded and ruled by God, and brings heavenly blessings; and because it is of a heavenly nature,¹ inasmuch as it is destined to a heavenly and heaven-determined perfection² (cf. Keim, *Geschichte Jesu*, 1871, ii. 43 f.; Baldensperger, *l.c.* p. 113; Schmoller, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, pp. 154, 158). This title is manifestly in perfect agreement with Jesus' self-designation as the "Son of Man," and is undoubtedly taken from the same picture of the founding of the kingdom contained in Dan. vii., a picture which was better fitted than any other to illustrate the heavenly origin and character of Christ's divine kingdom.

¹ E. Haupt, *l.c.*; Köstlin, "Die Idee des Reiches Gottes," in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1892, part iii. p. 447; more recently Titius, pp. 26-28.

² On the other hand, I cannot agree with J. Weiss (*Reich Gottes*, p. 10) that the notion of the kingdom of Heaven is completely supramundane.

Hence, when Matthew makes Jesus almost always use this name for the kingdom whose nearness was the theme of His preaching, he is probably here retaining the mode of expression in his Logia source. However, as the name is of no importance when the idea is established, there is no need for our entering more fully here on the question as to what name Jesus originally or mostly used.¹

¹ We can easily understand how the title "kingdom of Heaven" might have been changed into the usual one of "kingdom of God" by those who were not immediate witnesses to Jesus' preaching. We may thus explain why Mark and Luke give only the name "kingdom of God." They wrote specially for Gentiles, "who were not familiar with the religious application of the phrase kingdom of Heaven" (E. Haupt, *l.c.*).

On the other hand, it would be difficult to understand how the title "kingdom of Heaven" could have found its way into the Logia source unless Jesus had used it, or even how the first Evangelist should have expunged the name "kingdom of God" in almost every passage. Many, indeed, think that the metonymic use of the word *Heaven* for *God*, as was usual among the scribes of that period, was then very common among the people, and had its influence on the Evangelist Matthew. But no traces can be shown which indicate that any of the adherents of Jesus were wont to interchange the word "God" with the word "Heaven." The two ideas are by no means regarded as equivalent, even in Mark xi. 30 and Luke xv. 18. If we take into consideration the Psalms of Solomon, which give expression to the popular view immediately before Christ, we find the relation of Israel to her God to be there so personal, that the colourless category of Heaven in no way takes its place. Accordingly, it is just the eternal dominion of God over His people which was hoped for in the future that is expressly described as "*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν*" (Ps. xvii. 4). Just as little does the first Evangelist show himself affected by the Jewish fear of using the name of God (E. Haupt, p. 7). O. Schmoller (*Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, p. 49 ff.) rightly regards the uniformity here as of later date than the twofold expression, and points to some passages in which Mark and Luke seem to have changed kingdom of Heaven into kingdom of God. On the other hand,

(b) *Jesus' Conception of the Purpose of His Second Coming*¹

Now, though Jesus was conscious that the kingdom of God, in its essential inner content, had in Himself already become a present kingdom on earth, and that He Himself, as its Messiah, was already disposing of its heavenly blessings and powers, and creating children of the kingdom, it could not for a

Köstlin points out that the way in which Jesus speaks of God and Heaven alongside of each other, "especially in the Lord's prayer," directly excludes their identification (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, p. 497; cf. E. Haupt, *l.c.* p. 9). At any rate, He can hardly have used the phrase "kingdom of Heaven" metonymically (even Luke xv. 18 presents no real metonymy, and is a popular expression), as He never veiled the name of God, but always used it openly. It would be quite inconceivable that He should do so, considering His relationship of Son (see Kremer's view as opposed to that of Schürer in Schmoller, *l.c.* p. 158). But of course this does not make it impossible that, besides the name "kingdom of Heaven," He may also have occasionally used the other expression "kingdom of God." This would rather be quite in keeping with the way in which the name is used in Matthew. We must not, indeed, assume that the Baptist, in whose mouth the first Evangelist puts the name "kingdom of Heaven" (iii. 2), substituted that for the usual name "kingdom of God."

¹ The idea as to the purpose, form, and time of the second coming, which are thoroughly marked out and established in what follows, were in a certain indirect way suggested by the sketch in Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, ii. 566-576. That sketch also, to some extent, has had a similar influence on J. Weiss (*Jesu Predigt vom Reiche Gottes*; cf., *e.g.*, pp. 41 f., 62 f.), on Titius, whose book has just appeared (*Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*), and others. However, my own kindred views on these points, as well as those of Weiss and Titius, have been developed independently. This is the reason of our essential agreement in several respects. J. Weiss, *l.c.*, gives suggestive reasons for the theocratic form of the future kingdom.

moment have been concealed from Him that it did not yet possess its (metaphysical) perfect form. This form, as He was convinced, was to be imparted to it by God's powerful interposition, quite independently of His own co-operation (Mark xiii. 32; Acts i. 7). It must therefore have been from the future that He expected its appearance in this form.

No doubt, as already shown, He had once hoped to live to see this mighty change which signified for Himself the viceroyalty of God's dominion in its perfection. There is, however, no strict exegetical proof that, even before He looked for death, He desired to go to the Father in order to be qualified for entering on that dominion (cf. p. 29). Nor does the psychological necessity of this idea follow when we recognise that He Himself must be glorified before taking possession of the glorified final kingdom. For Jesus was the direct Mediator of the new condition of life only in the religious, but not in the metaphysical sense. In this sense He rather expected and entreated God to bring it about (Matt. vi. 10). But, in virtue of His original revelation, the Saviour of the world, as we have seen, at the same time recognised Himself as its Judge.¹ Hence He knew that He was authorised to receive into the kingdom, which was one day to be introduced by God in its perfect form, those whom He brought into inner fellowship with God (cf. Acts iii. 19 f.).

But this also belongs to His religious function.

¹ This will be more fully dealt with later.

Accordingly, we do not find in the case of the Synoptists that Jesus personally is to bring about the perfect condition metaphysically also (Haupt, pp. 108–112, takes a different view). Moreover, a previous passing into the heavenly world was not necessary for the purpose of assuming His dominion. Christ, indeed, in virtue of His Sonship, must have expected to be raised as a first-fruit into that rank of life which God was to create, in order, as religious Mediator, to make His people share in it. But it by no means follows from this that He must have thought of going to the Father in behoof of His own personal glorification, even before He had any expectation of His death. He more probably hoped that His own transfiguration into the Messiah of the final kingdom, either through or without death (by change), would be effected by God in close connection with the glorification of the whole world (Matt. xix. 28; Mark xii. 24–27; Luke xx. 35 f.).¹

But there can be no doubt that the anticipation of death could not have made Him give up His allotted function of becoming the Ruler of the final kingdom. It follows necessarily, therefore, that the only thing He could now expect was to come again from Heaven to set up His dominion.²

And this is just what we find plainly expressed in Mark xiv. 62. Asked by the High Priest whether He is the Messiah, Jesus answers, "I am: and ye

¹ We shall deal with this point more exactly later.

² Cf. Titius, pp. 18, 140.

shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." This confession is assuredly genuine in the main. For "such a characteristic saying, which led to the outbreak of a great horror in the Sanhedrim and to a final sentence of death, must have been in every mouth" (Weiffenbach, p. 206). And it would probably be the more deeply stamped upon the minds of the members of the early Church, that it cost their Master His life. The omission of the phrase "coming in the clouds of heaven" from the later Gospel of Luke, which is manifestly dependent here on its forerunners, Mark and Matthew, does not affect the question.

The "sitting at the right hand of power," which is borrowed from the 110th Psalm, denotes the receiving of the Messianic dominion in God's stead. Moreover, since the Son of Man, Dan. vii. 13, appears in the clouds of heaven before God to receive from Him dominion over His kingdom, Jesus can apply this to Himself here only in the sense in which He must have thought of coming from Heaven to receive that office of Ruler and Judge. As in the Acts of the Apostles, the heavens first receive Jesus till the times of refreshing, when God will again send Him as the Messiah (Acts iii. 19-21) to set up the kingdom, so here the enemies of Jesus are to see the proof of His sitting at the right hand of God (His Messianic dignity) by His coming from Heaven to set up His kingdom. At any rate, as

will be shown more exactly in what follows, the Lord does not mean His appearance to set up the kingdom in a figurative, but in a real and personal sense. It is to be a single definite act—and therefore occurring in time—with which the old ceases and the final kingdom begins.

But there are other sayings of the Lord which make the object of this coming clear. In Mark ix. 1, the Lord solemnly declares: "Verily I say unto you, There are some standing here who shall in no wise taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power." The weighty formula of introduction, as well as the repeated assurance (*οὐ μὴ*), shows that the Lord means to say something extraordinary. This consists in the fact that the kingdom of God, whose nearness Jesus proclaimed (Mark i. 15), is really to come very soon. The perfect absolute (*ἐλθελυθυῖαν*) shows that they who will experience it will then have before them a completed fact. In like manner, *ἕως ἄν* with the subjunctive refers to a single point of time in their lives, on the arrival of which it will take place. At that moment some of those who are standing round Jesus in this very place (taking *ᾧδε* as emphatic) will still be alive.

Here it does not yet matter about the definite time as such. But it is clear from the whole manner of expression that this coming of the kingdom of God with power can in no case be thought of as the climax of a development gradually increasing in

strength. Even those who do not live till that particular moment would have a certain share in its course. They could not, therefore, have been excluded in this way from those favoured ones who are to live to see it. Moreover, that would require the expression "they will see it *come*," but not "*having come*" (ἐρχομένην but not ἐληλυθυῖαν). However correct, then, it is to say that Jesus knew that the kingdom of God had come spiritually in Himself even in His lifetime, the question here is not about a time after His death when it comes more mightily, but about a single moment in which the kingdom of perfection shall have appeared in power. This is opposed to the opinion of Haupt, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu*, p. 144 f.

Now, as the personal Messiah is necessarily the Mediator of that perfection, and the βασιλεία cannot come without the βασιλεύς,¹ the first Evangelist is substantially correct in replacing "the coming of the kingdom of God" by "the coming of the Son of Man in His kingdom." For Mark also must regard the coming of that kingdom as brought about by the coming of the Son of Man.

Finally, this agrees with that other saying of the Lord which belongs to the great discourse on the second coming, "Then will they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and glory" (Mark xiii. 26). As Jesus here undoubtedly

¹ Meyer's *Commentar* on Matt. xvi. 28, which is also the view of Weiffenbach.

refers to the very same event, this phrase too can only mean His personal coming from Heaven for the purpose of setting up the kingdom. This is confirmed by the next verse (27), which speaks of His gathering His elect from one end of the earth to the other.

*(c) Jesus' Conception of the Form of His Coming again
to set up the Kingdom*

*a. Form of the Kingdom to be erected and of the
Dominion of Messiah*

What, then, is the form in which Jesus contemplated His coming again to set up the kingdom? That will necessarily depend on how He conceived the kingdom itself which He wished to found. We have already seen from His fundamental view that He could not have thought here of a merely outward, and therefore political, kingdom of the world, such as was essentially anticipated by the prophets. It follows, especially from His pneumatic and ethical principles, that to Him, as already shown, the kernel of the dominion was and remained spiritual and moral from the outset. But that determines nothing as to the more exact nature of the form of the kingdom itself in its future perfection. On the contrary, it is in keeping with Jesus' method and His notion of inspiration to adopt freely from His people's religious views and traditions everything that was morally and religiously indifferent, especially

if the form of the notion, more particularly when taken from the prophets, was in itself worthy of its content. Now, the Old Testament contained the idea that at the appearance of the final kingdom, the old Heaven and the old earth were to be transformed into a new Heaven and a new earth (Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22). The central idea was the transformation of the nature of the Jewish land and its inhabitants (vv. 17-25). Above all, Jerusalem is transformed into the centre of the new earth (ver. 18). Even the abrogation of death takes place *in Zion* (Isa. xxv. 7, 8). This new creation is therefore the result and expression of the completed rule of God, the "theocratic renewal of the world,"¹ the anthropological side of which is presented in the abolition of death.

One cannot see why Jesus should not have taken over ideas of that kind which rest on noble prophetic grounds, and do not in the least injure the religious content. If He taught that the bodies of those who rose from the dead would become like the angels (Matt. xii. 25, cf. p. 81 f.), He probably assumed a corresponding transformation of nature as a whole.

But we have the less reason for doubting the authenticity of this view of Jesus when it is expressly transmitted to us by the Synoptists. Now, in Matthew and in Luke, we find an utterance, manifestly derived from the original discourses, where Jesus promises the Twelve that in the king-

¹ This is opposed to Weiffenbach, p. 265 f.

dom they shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Luke xxii. 30; Matt. xix. 28). And this is promised them, according to the context of both Gospels, as a reward for their faithful following (Luke xxii. 28; Matt. xix. 28). Luke adds that He appoints to His disciples a kingdom, as His Father had appointed unto Him, and that in this character they are to eat and drink at His table (xxii. 30). Matthew says that the disciples would receive that dominion over the twelve tribes "in the regeneration" (ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ), when the Son of Man Himself will sit on the throne of His glory (xix. 28).

Here, then, we find in Jesus' mouth that promise of the renewal of the world such as we must have expected from Him, and such as He could not help associating with the final kingdom. For the notion was morally and religiously indifferent, and yet inoffensive and worthy.

But the theocratic form adheres to this kingdom just as in the Old Testament.¹ For what is spoken of is a rule of Jesus, with His disciples, over Israel. And that to many is suspicious. The offence would be well founded if Jesus had conceived it in a purely outward, political sense. But I have already stated that that is not to be thought of. It cannot, however, be shown that the notion of a glorified

¹ This has also been lately pointed out by Titius, who strikingly illustrates the genesis of the idea of the kingdom of God, by the scheme of the idea of a kingdom of the world (*l.c.* p. 19 ff.).

theocracy was unworthy of Jesus or in contradiction to His spirituality and His moral and religious character. On the contrary, we cannot imagine how He was to give up the theocracy, especially in such a glorified form, inasmuch as He could have had no moral and religious motive for so doing.

It is, in fact, only this attitude of Jesus that agrees with the apostolic conception as we meet it plainly in Acts i. 6. After the Risen One (ver. 3) has spoken with His disciples of the kingdom of God for forty days, they ask Him on His last appearance (vv. 4-6) whether He at this time will restore the kingdom unto Israel. In His answer Jesus simply says that the appointed time depends on God's exclusive authority, but He does not by any means reject their theocratic view of God's kingdom.

In keeping with this destination of the kingdom for the chosen people, a twelfth apostle (Acts i. 15-26) is chosen in place of Judas the traitor. And yet the only valid reason for preserving this number was the desire to keep intact the mission of the Twelve as viewed by the leaders of the first community.

But the Lord in His lifetime had limited this mission so exclusively to Israel, that He had forbidden them to go not only to the heathen but even to the Samaritans (Matt. x. 5). For He Himself considered that He was sent only (*οὐκ εἰς μίαν*) to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv. 24). It is arbitrary to limit the meaning of this un-

qualified saying of Jesus. Nay, in Matt. x. 23, Jesus bases His directions to those He is sending forth, "If they persecute you in one city, flee into another," on the consoling promise, "for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through (*οὐ μὴ*) the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come." And yet this verse is guaranteed as a genuine saying of the Lord by its originality, which might even be offensive.¹

Now, as we must undoubtedly seek in the preaching of the apostles for the reason of that persecution which the Lord presupposes, and as they are therefore to be still labouring in their mission to Israel at the commencement of the second coming, two things clearly follow. The first is that Jesus viewed the mission to the Jews as a task to be continued by the disciples after His death and up to His second coming. That, indeed, is in perfect keeping with His meaning. If, in the first instance, He chose them to support His own mission during His lifetime, this task must have been changed into a continuation of His ministry as soon as He could no longer hope to complete it in His own person.² But, on the other hand, the theocratic limitations which the kingdom retained even in the eyes of Jesus are at the same time obviously displayed here.

No doubt this fact contradicts the assumption

¹ The fact that it is not mentioned in His instructions to the Twelve does not affect the case.

² J. Weiss, *l.c.* p. 26, expresses a somewhat different opinion.

that Jesus contemplated a mission to the Gentiles in the proper sense of the word. We must otherwise make Him presuppose a simultaneous missionary activity among the Gentiles on the part of other apostles than the Twelve, and perhaps divine the Apostle Paul's mission to the Gentiles. But even though the glorified Christ expressly charged him with such a mission, and on the supposition that the baptismal command (Matt. xxviii. 19 f.) and similar words of the Risen One (cf. Luke xxiv. 47 ; Acts i. 8 ; Mark xvi. 15) are quite authentic, yet it is unbiblical to ascribe that idea to Christ before His death. Since He expressly limits His own task and that of His disciples who represent Him to the work of proclaiming and ushering in to the chosen people the approach of the kingdom that was promised to them alone, and since the disciples are to be engaged in that mission till the second coming (Matt. x. 23), we cannot speak of a universal mission as commanded by Jesus in His lifetime.

It follows from this that the words in Mark xiii. 10, which state that the gospel is to be preached to all nations before the second coming, are not only interpolated here, as is almost universally admitted, but are altogether spurious. They are wanting in the parallel passage in Matt. x., between vv. 18 and 19.¹ The interpolation is easily understood from the universalism of Jesus on the

Cf. Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, vol. i. p. 139 ; Weiffenbach, pp. 136 ff., 134.

one hand, and, on the other, from the involuntary tendency to mitigate the offence caused by the delay of the end of the world, which was looked for as at hand.¹

I myself have deduced that universalism from Jesus' consciousness of being the Saviour of the world (cf. p. 15). From the passages that prove this universalism we are, however, too ready to infer an express purpose and commission to evangelise the Gentiles. To begin with, we should not at once conclude from the words of Jesus, which are supposed to mean or really do mean the rejection of Israel, that the kingdom of God was transferred to another people.

The unexplained contrast with the Jewish nation need not necessarily have been formed by the Gentiles, but might, in thorough harmony with the prophets, have been formed by an election from Israel (cf. Rom. xi. 28, and elsewhere), or by non-Jewish proselytes, who, however, were incorporated with the theocracy. Besides, even Jesus supposed that the hardening of Israel as a whole would only be for a time, namely, to the second coming (Matt. xxiii. 39, cf. Rom. xi. 25 ff.).

This is the standpoint from which to judge those passages usually brought forward in favour of that assumption. In the parable of the fig tree in the vineyard, the rejection does not probably refer to the whole of Israel at all, but to eminent leaders and heads of the people. For, according to an old

¹ Cf. Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, p. 145 ff.

tradition, the vineyard itself usually represents the people of Israel (cf. Isa. v. 7, and Jesus' parable of the vineyard; see also Holtzmann, *H. U.* 233). The parables of the labourers in the vineyard, of the obedient and disobedient sons (Matt. xxi. 28-32), of the prodigal son, of the invitation to the supper, and of the wicked husbandmen, in the original form at least, have nothing whatever to do with the Gentiles, but with the contrast between the despised publicans and sinners and the proud hierarchy, from whom is to be taken their privileged position as leaders in the theocracy. The only possible hint as to the Gentiles sharing in the kingdom of God is found in Luke xiv. 23. But that passage does not imply an untheocratic form of the kingdom. And in the parable of the wicked husbandmen, even Matt. xxi. 45, notwithstanding its arbitrary application to the transference of the kingdom to another nation (ver. 43), proves that Mark gives the original form (Mark xii. 9 f.). Further, Mark xiv. 9, which speaks of the gospel being preached to the whole world, may possibly have no wider reference than to the Jews who are scattered over the whole earth. At any rate, even though we admit the preaching of the gospel in the hearing of the Gentiles, yet it does not at once follow that this preaching must have been carried on by an organised mission with the express purpose of converting the Gentiles. The context suggests that Jesus might have been thinking of the world as already subject to the dominion of God. Again, the

parable of the mustard seed means nothing more than the multitude who would share in the final kingdom.

If, in spite of all this, we consider Jesus' fundamental universalism of salvation which followed from His pure ethicism, we shall at least infer that universalism even in those passages which do not necessarily in themselves contain it. But yet all that fails to show that the historical Jesus contemplated a real mission to the Gentiles, which Matt. x. 23 already proves to be impossible.

And the attitude of the early Church renders this unquestionable. Notwithstanding that alleged command of the Risen One Himself in Matt. xxviii. 19 f., the Twelve did not even think of a mission to the Gentiles for many years. The first preliminary to that would have been their associating with these unclean ones. But even the permission for this intercourse had to be revealed to the chief apostle by a special vision long after Jesus had ascended to Heaven. And even after the exceptional baptism of the centurion Cornelius and his house, the early Church still insisted that none could become Christians unless regularly incorporated with the people of God, who are the only bearers of salvation. It was only after a long resistance on the part of the first community that the apostolic convention admitted Paul's untheocratic mission to the Gentiles as an accomplished fact. This was by no means because the disciples had at length remembered a

command of the Risen Lord to preach to the heathen. It was entirely due to the overpowering impression of the blessing bestowed by God on the mission of the Apostle to the Gentiles, and especially because the latter, even without first becoming Jews, showed themselves possessors of the same Spirit which was given to the Jewish Christians (Gal. ii. 3-9, 11-18; Acts x. 45-47, xv.). Accordingly, Jesus must have presented His universalism of salvation in a theocratic form.

Here, however, so far as we can trace the matter historically, He found no occasion to consider the order and development of the outer forms under which the Gentiles were to enter into the kingdom of God. These things in themselves had no specific religious significance. But He was essentially identified with the religious needs of the present, in which He had to work. Moreover, He had no revelation as to those things, and therefore no absolutely authoritative judgment.

For the same reason, He did not consider it His duty to make any change in the traditional prophetic view or in the former customs. No prophet made the conversion of the Gentiles precede the Messianic day which was brought about by God alone. But, no doubt, after the deliverance of Israel, the servant of God was also to become a light to the nations, and the temple a house of prayer for all people (Isa. xlix. 6 f., 23, lvi. 1-8). If, in the view of the old prophets, these were to be converted and

subjected to Jehovah in consequence of the great redemption of Israel which they themselves experienced, or because the news of it reached them (cf. Isa. lx. 12, lxvi. 19; Ps. ii. 10-12; Isa. xix. 18-25), it was natural for Jesus to believe in similar fashion that this result would be directly or indirectly brought about by His second coming in divine glory. For this event could not but display to the Gentiles the greatness of God's power. On that day, therefore, they might come from the east and from the west to participate in the kingdom of the glorified people of God on the glorified earth (Luke xiii. 29).

That Jesus, on the other hand, supposed the Gentiles would share in the kingdom of God before His return, as the result of regular mission work on the part of His apostles, is the more improbable, that He looked with displeasure and scorn on the Pharisees who, in opposition to Himself and His disciples, hunted after proselytes (Matt. xxiii. 15). Yet here probably He made no fundamental innovation as to the particular manner of receiving the Gentiles into the membership of the kingdom of God, even in the period before His second coming. Nor did He expressly abrogate the prescribed form of proselytising, but only blamed its distortion.¹

No doubt, then, it followed from His universalism that, in the end, there must be one flock and one Shepherd (John x. 16), but it did not by any means

¹ Titius also indicates that, in all likelihood, Jesus did not expressly contemplate the mission to the Gentiles.

follow that this should take place in an untheocratic form. It cannot be shown that Jesus outwardly gave up the theocratic limits which He deprived of inward significance; He did not do so just because such questions had no religious significance.

All this shows that Jesus regarded the kingdom, for the setting up of which He meant to come again, not as a national Jewish but rather as a universal one. He expected it, however, in the theocratic form hallowed by sacred history, though no doubt spiritualised. It is precisely the historical people of God who are to absorb all other pious people, even those from among the Gentiles.

This theocratic form of the universal kingdom of God proves that Jesus also, in accordance with the teachings of the prophets, regarded the earth, though in a form transfigured with heavenly glory, as the seat of the final empire. Considering that the place is a matter of religious indifference, we can see no reason why He should have deviated from that view. Nay, when He taught His disciples to pray that God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven, He can only have expected the prayer to be fulfilled in the earthly perfect kingdom. For as this stage must arrive before God's will can be carried out on earth as it is in heaven, the petition has no meaning save on that supposition. It is therefore equivalent to the immediately preceding petition for the coming of the kingdom.¹

¹ Grass thinks differently, p. 78 f.

The purpose of the Returning One, therefore, is to take possession of the real dominion as God's Vicegerent, and to make His apostles share in it. The thrones on which He will sit with His disciples are the emblematic expression of that. It is self-evident that they are not to be understood in a crass, sensuous way (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; cf. also xix. 17, 19). Yet neither, on the other hand, should the sovereignty be taken in a purely spiritual sense.¹ For a long time, indeed, there had been no such thing as twelve tribes in the proper sense. This then means, in conformity with what has been already shown, the whole of Israel viewed as the sphere of a theocratic dominion. But, in this sense, the saying about the thrones cannot be pronounced spurious, as is done by Weiffenbach (pp. 265–276). The similarity, especially of Luke's version to Enoch lxii. 14, and to various passages in Revelation, is not nearly sufficient for that. On the contrary, as Jesus was wont to take the form of His Messianic self-estimate as Ruler and Judge from the well-known passage in Daniel about the Son of Man, His idea as to the rule of the disciples may also, in point of form, have been suggested to Him by the "saints of the Most High," who are there to possess the kingdom (Dan. vii. 22).

The answer of Jesus to the sons of Zebedee that it is not His prerogative (but that of the Father only) to confer the privilege of sitting on His right

¹ J. Weiss, *l.c.* p. 41 f., expresses a similar opinion.

hand and on His left in the kingdom (Mark x. 40) cannot be urged against the fact that He promised (Luke xxii. 29 f.; Matt. xix. 28) to all the apostles a share of authority in the kingdom assigned Him by the Father. This was already realised, in its deepest sense at least, among the disciples (Luke xvii. 21). In consequence of that, they already occupy the position of children of the King with Jesus, and through His mediation (Matt. xvii. 26). And just as Christ Himself takes the place of God, as Bearer and Mediator of the will which has sole authority in the kingdom of God, so at His departure He bequeathes to His disciples the continuation of this rule of God in His place, as a gift and as a task. Through their gospel preaching they have to further the divine will, in which at the same time there is salvation, and in virtue of this they have their rank and authoritative influence (Matt. x. 40). The necessary result, however, is that their prominent position as co-founders of the final kingdom remains for ever valid in the new dispensation also.

Moreover, Jesus' statement that whoever of His disciples will be great (*γενέσθαι*) must follow His example, in opposition to the rulers of the world, and be the servant of all, does not contradict this leading position designed for them in the kingdom (Mark x. 43-45). It is precisely by their present service that they are to make themselves worthy of the future greatness. The greatness of the service

performed here determines the greatness of their future position.

On the other hand, the relative rank of the apostles in the future kingdom of God can only be determined by the authority of the Omniscient (Matt. x. 40). This destroys Keim's doubtful assumption of a dualism in the view of Jesus (Keim, iii. 46), as well as Weiffenbach's assertion that certain verses in the collection of sayings are spurious, though they have a double support (Weiffenbach, p. 227 ff.).

Now, if Jesus' rule in the last dispensation literally means that the will of God revealed in and through Him is to be the sole authority there, this, of course, does not apply to the detailed description of the new life represented as it is in definite human forms of a purely earthly kind. Accordingly, when the Saviour says to His disciples that they are to sit with Him on thrones in His kingdom and eat and drink at His table (Matt. xix. 28 ; Luke xxii. 30), or when at the institution of the Supper He assures them that He will no more drink of the fruit of the vine till that day when He shall drink it new (*καινόν*) in the kingdom of God (Mark xiv. 25), He must have been conscious that such expressions could not possibly quite cover their content. If the wine which He shall then drink is to be a "new" wine, then the notion of a higher enjoyment than the present underlies the saying. By this, therefore, Jesus presupposes a joyful life of a more perfect

kind in the kingdom of God in fellowship with His people ("with you," Matt. xxvi. 29). This is based upon the "regeneration" (Matt. xix. 28), whereby the whole creation is transformed into a higher mode of existence. To Jesus, therefore, this partaking of the new wine is the concrete expression for such joys as correspond to the transformation of the world.¹ The world and humanity will then indeed remain the world and humanity. They are not annihilated as such, but receive a new heavenly nature. But for that very reason they are no longer purely earthly, but form an earthly heaven.

And He has therewith once more touched the kernel of the matter. For, as we have seen, a certain spiritual corporeity necessarily follows from the finite nature of human spirituality (cf. p. 83 f.). This, however, must imply needs, not of a pure spirit, but of a spiritual body. And full satisfaction is rendered possible by the fact that the corresponding perfect world is thoroughly fitted to meet these wants.

But, of course, Jesus too must have been perfectly conscious, especially in the absence of any revelation on the matter, that the more exact manner in which the glorified people of God will live on the glorified earth was unknown even to Himself. All particular forms which He uses to embody such presentiments, and which He cannot but take from the condition of

¹ The conception of Titius that there is in the kingdom of God even "something similar to the earthly feast" is too materialistic.

the present world, are therefore in this sense to be taken metaphorically. But they are not meant as emblems of purely spiritual and heavenly realities, but of spiritual bodies and a heavenly earth.

Accordingly, He neither knows, nor reflects about, nor has any interest in the question as to how all the details of that will be constituted. He neither knew, nor wished to know, or say, for example, whether we shall really drink wine in the kingdom of the Father.¹

Yet the more exalted Jesus' idea of the transformation into the heavenly, the less reason we can see for supposing, when we consider the religious indifference of the matter, that He assumed His divine dominion would not have its seat on earth even in a glorified form. Hence, though such sayings of Jesus as the meek shall inherit the earth (Matt. v. 5), might in themselves signify the possession of the highest good, there is no proof of such an abstract idea here.² We must rather find in it a confirmation of the view already unfolded. Though He knew no details, yet He must have been certain of exercising His dominion in a form corresponding to the glorified circumstances and capable of causing God's will to be done on earth as in heaven (Matt. vi. 10). For "a Messiahship merely in heaven" remains a Jewish absurdity (Keim, ii. 568).

¹ This is essentially the view of J. Weiss, p. 41 f.; Titius, p. 31 f.; cf. Keim, ii. 572, 575 f.

² Cf. J. Weiss, p. 41.

With this agrees also the fact that Jesus recognised the resurrection of the dead as the final kingdom. For since these, as we have seen, were already in heaven before the resurrection, they had no need for their resurrection body in order to be there. Their glorified earthly body is more in keeping with life on the glorified earth, for abode on which it is intended.

When Haupt makes Jesus, even in the eschatological sphere, infuse His spirit and ideas into the forms handed down to Him (*l.c.* p. 161), I take that spirit to be the absolute religious genius from whose original revelation, as we saw (pp. 9-13), springs all that had religious value in the content of His ideas of salvation. From this peculiarity, again, I deduce the details of those aspects which must permeate the traditional material, namely, His individualism, His subjectivism, His pneumatism, His ethicism, and His universalism (p. 14 ff.). On the other hand, however, it is clear that these ideas, based as they were on His original revelation, may indeed be able to renew, to deepen and spiritualise in a moral and religious sense, those notions of His people as regards their content, but cannot immediately change the forms that are morally and religiously indifferent. Hence it is not manifest how Jesus, without such a reason and inducement, should have been led, in a case of this kind, to conceive the outward form in any other than the traditional way.

Hence, as we have seen, complete dependence on

the divine saving purpose, in virtue of His original and perfect experience of God, formed the kernel of His conception of the final kingdom. But that did not involve any moral and religious interest in the form which this saving dominion of God must take. It was therefore not at all inconsistent with Jesus' ideas that this accomplishment should take place through a transformation, such as was expected by the prophets, and should, accordingly, have the renewed earth for its theatre. Now, if we find this very view frequently assigned to Jesus in the Synoptics, it seems arbitrary to deprive Him of it, especially when we consider His position to the Old Testament; although the Apocalypses were certainly disposed to leave the earth out of account.

The remark of Tholuck, which has recently been maintained again by Haupt, that the forms of many religious notions were regarded by Jesus merely as "pictures," is correct.¹ But that does not so much apply to the forms themselves as to the way in which they are used (Haupt, pp. 49, 57, 159). Thus there can be no doubt that He understood in its proper sense the essential content of the traditional view of God's dominion. He recognised the Messiah as the bearer of this dominion, and found that Messiah in Himself. He even hoped, as will be shown, for the consummation of the kingdom of God in the near future, and made His disciples

¹ Titius also thinks Haupt exaggerates the figurative nature of Jesus' eschatological sayings (p. 141 f.).

pray for it in this sense. He by no means meant the demons metaphorically, but held them to be personal evil spirits, and represented His actual divine power for the destruction of evil in the form of a conflict with the kingdom of these spirits and their prince.

If Haupt does not deny that "in things of this present life which have no religious interest," Jesus was dependent on contemporary notions, among which He reckons such forms of religious thought as the locality of Hades, "beneath" (p. 53), we may suppose that the locality of the final kingdom has just as little immediate religious interest, and that the manner and time of Jesus' coming to set up the kingdom, and of the future life on its metaphysical side, are of no immediate moral and religious significance.

Baldensperger, therefore, is wrong in denying (1st ed., p. 144) that He meant to return to earth for the purpose of setting up His final kingdom.

This brings us to the special form of His Messianic dominion, which has been represented from of old as its introductory act. Jesus by no means rejected the prophetic idea of the Messiah's function as final Judge. He must have perceived in that the truth which I have deduced from His primitive revelation (p. 11 f.), namely, that in virtue of His position as Saviour He is the one Mediator for deciding the eternal lot of men fixed by God. The dead saints rise from their graves for this judgment, while it is

the evil or unbelieving who are still alive that we must think of as being rejected. The judgment consists in the rigorous separation which the parousia of the Son of Man¹ makes among men, with a view to their reception or non-reception into the final kingdom. That separation with a view to reception or rejection forms, for example, the contents of Luke xvii. 34 f., xii. 42-46; Matt. xiii. 30, 48 f., cf. Matt. iii. 12. It is the same with those other parables in which the kingdom of God is the reward for obedience to the invitation, or for a faithful waiting for the day of the second coming, but the disobedient and unfaithful are punished by rejection (Matt. xxv. 1-13, 21, 23; Luke xii. 37 f., 39 f., 43 f., xiv. 24, cf. Matt. xxii. 11-14; Luke xiii. 25, xiv. 24; Mark xiii. 36; Luke xxi. 36, etc.). The story of the penitent thief also presupposes that the Lord personally receives men into the kingdom at His second coming (Luke xxiii. 39-43). So far as Matt. vii. 22 f. contains this genuine notion of Jesus, though the form of the passage may be somewhat modified, the saying may be classed with Luke xiii. 25 and similar examples.

Finally, the parable of the tares among the wheat

¹ As the question here is about the recognised function of the "Son of Man" as the final Judge, I may at present leave out of account the various interpretations of this self-designation of the Lord. Moreover, even the possibly ultimate derivation of the title from the Babylonian Chaos myth is of no consequence for its interpretation as used by Jesus (cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895).

describes other preliminary conditions of that reception (Matt. xiii. 24-30). It makes the final separation between the evil and the good take place only after they are fully ripe, when the latter are received into the kingdom of God, and the former are cast out by the final judgment. The explanation of the parable, as given by Matthew (vv. 37-43), cannot indeed be certified as authentic. However, the more essential contents, the judgment of the Son of Man, in so far as it is expressed in the casting out of His enemies and the presupposed reception of the righteous, is in keeping with the view of Jesus. The only feature that we may perhaps recognise as an apocalyptic addition, is the sending out of the angels, especially as such, who belong to the Son of Man.

As regards Jesus' position as Judge, we must, in opposition to Weiffenbach, conclude from such passages as Luke xiii. 27-30, Matt. xxv. 10-13, vii. 21-23, xix. 28, Mark xiv. 62, that He knew Himself to be not only the absolute fixer but also the executive instrument of the final judgment. Of course He also regards God alone as the ultimate author and disposer of that judgment.

Yet in the parable, Matt. xxv. 31-46, which clearly describes the actual act of separation, I find no reason for denying it to be a genuine idea of Jesus that He was to carry out the same in God's place. Here also, then, as in other passages, the judgment throne may belong to Him (cf. p. 229 f.).

Moreover, His making the kindness shown to His oppressed and persecuted followers the basis of His judicial decisions, probably also belongs to the genuine parts of the parable; at any rate, it agrees with Jesus' view. On the other hand, we shall perhaps be forced to give up the company of angels that escort Him. Yet, from what has been said, it was in all likelihood only at a later period that this picture of the judgment grew out of His original theocratic point of view. Certain accessory features of the parable also, such as the expression "King" (*βασιλεύς*, vv. 34, 40), may belong to a later account (Weiffenbach). Finally, it follows from Jesus' original revelation that the judgment will have indirectly extended to the Gentiles (see above). The final Judge thereby becomes the Judge of the world.

On account of the finality of the separation, Jesus naturally viewed the day of His second coming as coincident with the end of this present world (Matt. xix. 28; Mark xiv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 3).¹ Though the last verse of Matthew's Gospel cannot, in its present form, be regarded as a saying of Jesus, yet this also is based on the view common to the Lord and the majority of His pious Jewish contemporaries.

Now, though this office of Judge, assuredly in His own opinion, belongs to Jesus, yet it seems to me, if our previous exposition is correct, that Baldensperger goes too far in seeking to resolve the "King" entirely into the "Judge," and in limiting Jesus' idea of the

¹ About the time of that coming, see chap. iv.

parousia to the apocalyptic scene of judgment (*l.c.* p. 203). Though contemporary apocalypses place this event entirely in the other world, this view is in no way shown by the New Testament to have been that of the people. For this very reason, therefore, it was probably not held by the Pharisees as such, who really ruled the faith of the people, but was rather the particular theory of certain smaller circles. At any rate, it is not shown to be that of Jesus (though Baldensperger, 2nd ed., p. 200, is of a different opinion).

We have no right to minimise this fact which meets us in the Synoptists, by attributing the earthly features, without sufficient reason, to the conception of the disciples (Baldensperger, *l.c.* p. 207).

Even 2 Cor. v. 8 does not prove that Paul viewed this matter at least as purely supernatural. For if, in that case, he desires to be present with the Lord, the desire can only be realised when he goes to Heaven where the Lord is. He is still, however, looking for the second coming. But this as a coming down to earth is quite compatible with his wish. Phil. iii. 20 is more in favour of this idea than against it. And Phil. i. 23, where Paul likewise thinks of departing before the second coming, is just as far from contradicting it. Luke xvii. 30, 1 Cor. i. 7, 2 Thess. i. 7, and similar passages, also prove the revelation of Jesus at the last day, but do not necessarily abrogate His coming down from Heaven to set up the kingdom. And if those who are raised

ascend to meet the Lord in the air when He comes down from Heaven, then neither of the two parties remains where they meet each other. It remains here undecided where they will go, whether with Jesus to Heaven, or He more likely with them to earth (1 Thess. iv. 17).

β. The Manner of Jesus' Coming

The Coming from Heaven in a Spiritual Body to the Glorified Earth

With regard to the more exact manner in which Jesus conceived His coming to judge the world and set up the kingdom, it is probable that the great Master of parables and figures understood the clouds of heaven in which He will come in the same figurative sense as the prophet Daniel did—namely, as an emblem of divine majesty.

He cannot, however, have regarded the coming itself as a completely transcendent event, but only as one of a material though spiritualised nature, in keeping with His glorified corporeity, and with its aim, the glorified earth; in short, with His mode of viewing things. When the most cultured man of the period makes Jesus float down from Heaven in a spiritual body (1 Thess. iv. 15 ff.; 2 Cor. xii. 4, cf. Phil. iii. 20; Acts i. 11), we cannot see why Jesus Himself should have had a different view of the matter (cf. Luke xvi. 22, 23, 43). If, in accord-

ance with the vulgar notion, He regarded Heaven as "above," over the earth (Haupt, p. 53), He could only "come down" thence to the earth. He was, indeed, no more able than others to have a clear view of this matter.

Following Old Testament examples, Jesus, in Matt. xxiv. 29 (Mark xiii. 24, 25), describes the end of the present æon with the words, "the sun and moon will be darkened, the stars will fall from Heaven, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken." Haupt interprets this as a "crashing together" of the whole natural world, and from it deduces that a local coming thither is no longer possible, since it is no longer in existence (p. 117).

But Matt. xxiv., as well as Mark xiii., of which the former is manifestly an amplified copy, proves the contrary. For not only (according to Matt. xxiv. 30) do all tribes of the *earth* mourn as they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, but in Mark xiii. 27 the Coming One sends forth His angels to gather His elect from the four winds, from the *utmost part of the earth to the utmost part of Heaven*. The context, as well as the Old Testament analogy, here requires both of these events to be conceived as following that shaking of the world; even though the earth may be in process of transformation (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 10-13). Now, if Jesus had seen the complete destruction of everything earthly immediately before this, He could not possibly have assumed the earth as still existent, since all would

have been over with it in every sense. Otherwise He would incur at least the reproach of meaningless phraseology, if not of defective truthfulness of expression, and He is raised above this.¹ Hence this objection cannot seriously affect the view that Jesus will come in a spiritual body to enter on possession of His heavenly dominion of earth, a view which, as we have seen, is supported by a variety of passages.

*The Spiritual and so-called Historical Coming
of Jesus*

On the other hand, it is self-evident that what is sometimes meant by Jesus coming is His historical appearance generally (Mark ii. 17). But that does not do away with the fact that Jesus, like Paul and all the apostles, frequently uses it in the special sense of His *future coming from Heaven on one single occasion to complete the kingdom*. Nor does anyone venture to question this in its full extent. But because the Lord did not return at the time He was expected, attempts have been made to give a different interpretation to some passages which the unprejudiced would take in the same sense. They distinguish between a final coming, which Jesus looked forward to at the last day, and a provisional coming which He meant in another sense, but which

¹ Titius, p. 143 f., of whose views my own are here and in every other case completely independent, shares my opinion as to Haupt's spiritualising conception of Jesus' coming and the reason he gives for it on the basis of Matt. xxiv. f.

the disciples here and there had confused with that. And the question is, how are we to understand this so-called spiritual and historical coming of the Lord as distinguished from the eschatological? ¹

In John's Gospel the idea frequently appears that Jesus, after His death, will come to His people and make His abode with them (xiv. 23, and elsewhere). This idea alternates with the other, that it is just by going to the Father that their interests will be specially furthered, because the Spirit, as His Representative and their Helper, will thereby come to them and abide with them (xvi. 7, 13, xiv. 16, 17). Similarly, in Matt. xviii. 20, Christ assures them that wherever two or three are gathered together in His name, there He is in the midst of them. We must not, indeed, as Haupt has clearly proved, build absolutely on the connection in which such a statement is found, and this saying itself does not clearly show whether we must refer it to the help that is to be imparted to them in His lifetime, or only after His glorification. But in any case it must be understood in a purely spiritual sense.

The matter is quite clearly put in Matt. xxviii. 20. Here the Risen One promises to His disciples, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the (present, cf. Matt. xxiv. 3) age." He therewith gives them the consolation that they shall not lack His assistance till He comes again to bring about

¹ Titius also, in opposition to Haupt, clings to the thought of the second coming of Christ as a single act (p. 144 f.).

the end of the present æon. The idea therefore coincides essentially with that of John, that the Spirit of God as the Spirit of Christ will be the Paraclete (cf. also Rom. viii. 9–11 with Gal. ii. 20). Though this presence of the heavenly Christ must be recognised as personal, yet it is here conceived in unquestionable opposition to His parousia, which does not occur till the end of the æon (Matt. xxiv. 3), and is meant as a provisional equivalent of the second coming. At any rate, we must not suppose that Jesus could have meant this eschatological return of His in a similar spiritual sense, and that the disciples had then mistakenly understood it as a single act of His entire personality.

Hardly anyone, moreover, will maintain this to-day. Even Tholuck censures that rationalistic spiritualising. On the other hand, besides the eschatological he recognises a historical, or, as he is wont to say, a “dynamical” parousia of Jesus. Holtzmann also assumes such a parousia in the sense of a “series of manifest historical deeds of power, by which He seeks to show Himself to be the exalted Messiah” (*H. C.*, p. 285); and Beysehlag and others take essentially the same view.¹ Hence they are wont to think of a series of epoch-making, periodically returning, temporary realisations of His coming, which incipiently, as it were, prepare and prefigure His final

¹ Cf. Tholuck's *Osterprogramm der Univ. Halle-Wittenberg*, 1871, *Die Konsequenz der Aussagen Jesu über seine Wiederkunft und sein Gericht*, especially p. 17.

return. That is an ingenious, but, as it seems to me, a modern idea. Above all, however, it contradicts the view of the day of the Lord altogether, and has nothing whatever in the Bible to support it.

In the first place, it certainly cannot be based on Luke xvii. 22. Here Jesus says to His disciples, "The days will come (*ἡμέραι*) in which ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man, and ye shall not see it." Elsewhere in the New Testament we have only the singular form, "the day of the Lord." It is only in ver. 26 that we find a repetition of the expression in the sense of the time (likewise connected with this; cf. ver. 22) when the day of the Son of Man must appear (ver. 30). Here the plural expression is caused by the parallelism with the days of Noah (ver. 26), when the flood took place (ver. 27). Now, if in the first passage we do not refer the longed-for days of the Son of Man (ver. 22) to Jesus' historical presence among His disciples (cf. Mark ii. 19 f.; Luke x. 23), then, in accordance with the whole analogy of Scripture, we can only interpret them to mean the final period ushered in by the day of the second coming. That is, from the unbroken series of those glorious days to come men shall long for even a single one similar to that series. This is therefore the precise opposite of the view that several epoch-making days are here represented which stand out in a series of non-Messianic days as dissimilar to the rest.

But even Matt. xxvi. 64 (cf. Mark xiv. 62) cannot

prove that Jesus meant a continual, to say nothing of a periodic, coming foreign to the whole of Scripture (cf. Holtzmann, *H. C.*, p. 285; Tholuck, *l.c.* p. 17; Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, i. 198 ff.). When, according to Matthew's wording of our Lord's saying already discussed, He threatens His enemies, "Hereafter (*ἀπ' ἄρτι*) ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven," there is no grammatical necessity for supplying the whole phrase, "henceforth ye shall see," before "coming." One need not understand more than the words, "ye shall see." And this is the only natural way, as a continuous "coming in the clouds of heaven" gives no clear meaning. But even though we grant such a notion to be in itself logically admissible, there is at least no similar expression in the whole of Scripture. And it would even be a continuous coming of Jesus to judgment that one would have to think of here. For it is just in connection with His threat against His enemies that the specific function of the Son of Man as Judge of the world could hardly be left out of account. Nor is there any warrant in the Bible for the somewhat arbitrary supposition of a periodic instead of a continuous coming.

But that whole difficulty may be disposed of at once. For the "henceforth" does not belong to the original text, which is rather given by Mark. For we can see no reason why that Evangelist, who is otherwise recognised as more original in these his-

torical accounts, should be less authentic here, or even have left out an ἀπ' ἄρτι contained in the source. Matthew may have made the addition in order by this time qualification to give the phrase "ye shall see" a still more confident ring, as it would now mean that the enemies of Jesus, by their sentence of condemnation, will even now bring about the demonstration that the Lord is exalted to heavenly Messianic power, and would see this proof themselves.

Again, Haupt's idea that the coming of the kingdom of God with power (Matt. ix. 1), though not indeed to be understood as a periodic coming of Jesus, is yet to be conceived as a mighty "growth of the Christian community," has certainly, as we saw, an affinity with others which the Lord held (p. 208 f.).¹ However, Jesus in no way represents such a growth of the community as a coming with power, but the very opposite. It comes, according to His view, quite gradually and even unnoticed. We have only to think of the parables of the mustard seed and the leaven, and especially of the seed growing of itself (ὥς οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτός, Mark iv. 27). And it is the same in the parable of the tares among the wheat. The patience of the disciples is there tested by the growing up of good and evil side by side in a way that forbids all separation (Matt. xiii. 24-30).

¹ Lütgert also (pp. 127, 98) controverts the exegetic conception of the coming of the kingdom of God as meaning with Jesus an "extension of the community."

I shall further leave entirely out of account the fact that the Evangelist, in his explanation, is thinking of the parousia of the Son of Man which takes place at the end of the æon. This is not so much in the case of the growth as that of the harvest, which is put in contrast with that growth as a single decisive moment (Matt. xiii. 40 ff.). But the parable itself reveals this view, which was similar to that of the Jews (Matt. xiii. 30, cf. iii. 10-12; Mark xiii. 26).

The special feature of our passage, Mark ix. 1, however, is that, as already insisted on, it refers not to a *period* of coming with power, but to a future *moment* in which this coming has taken place. The solemn assurance with which Jesus introduces His statement suggests how unexpected this arrival is to appear to man. The style here is quite in keeping with those other passages in which Jesus fore-announces His confessedly eschatological return as a single act which suddenly takes place (Luke xvii. 24, xii. 39, 46, xxi. 35, etc.).

If we take the "arrival" of the kingdom of God with power—an event which (only) some are to live to see—to mean an increasing growth, or a heightened development of power in the Church, then a further idea follows which in divers aspects has no proper meaning. I have already stated that a "coming" (seeing it come) would suit that far better than a "being come" (p. 216). For, as we saw, this latter expression naturally suggests that

the reference must have been to a point in such development that was epoch-making, and in a certain sense final. And yet the kingdom of God has not, up to this moment, completed its growth. For the vague conception that it is to become very vigorous during a single generation will not do justice to the sonorous phrase, that there be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power. Does it mean, perhaps, that Jesus may have supposed that within a generation the gospel would have been preached by Paul throughout the whole of Europe? He could not have had any presentiment of Paul's mission to the Gentiles, for He was no soothsayer. And even granting that He had, such an epoch-making point as we must expect here could hardly be shown to exist in this case. At that very time the frightful persecution of the Christians commenced and was carried on for centuries, and this was little fitted to show any particular arrival of the kingdom of God with power.

Christ, however, never thought of a mission to the Gentiles, but rather, as we saw, makes the day of His return take place at a time when the disciples are suffering a frightful persecution, and before they have even ended their mission to Israel (Matt. x. 23).

If we would fix on any point when there was a pre-eminent development of power, we would most readily see it, like Beyschlag, in the founding of the

Church at Pentecost. But this would be still less in harmony with the statement that "only some" of those surrounding the Saviour were to live to see it. Hence we must put aside the idea that Jesus had in view the growth of His Church, and not rather His eschatological return.

There still remains the assumption that He viewed the destruction of Jerusalem as a historical parousia. He might have found in this by itself an emblem and a provisional fulfilment of the last judgment, but not of His return. Every analogy of the New Testament is against that. The parable of the wicked husbandmen does not refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, but to the overthrow of the unfaithful hierarchy (Matt. xii. 9). If, on the other hand, we would apply the parable of the fig tree to the destruction of Jerusalem (Luke xiii. 6-9), then there is no question here about the parousia of Jesus; for God Himself is the Lord of the vineyard. But the passage, Matt. xxiii. 39 (Luke xiii. 35), is also wrongly taken by Keim as referring to a "historical" parousia (*Jesu von Nazara*, iii. 190). It is rather to be understood eschatologically, and comes under the point of view which presupposes no doubt the destruction of Jerusalem, but signifies the precise opposite of the judgment of God. For in the whole history of salvation this judgment must be thought of as a consequence of God having withdrawn His presence from His people. But here the house of the inhabitants of Jerusalem is to be

left desolate *until* they welcome Jesus as Messiah. The appearance, therefore, of the Returning One puts an end to their abandonment by God.

Moreover, if the Messianic call which Jesus expects from the inhabitants of Jerusalem were to be referred to the moment of its destruction, then it would not have been fulfilled either in a literal or figurative sense. At any rate, this would not disprove that Jesus was mistaken in His expectations, a difficulty which above all is sought to be set aside by taking the destruction of Jerusalem as the epoch of the return.

It cannot then be proved that Jesus even once identified the predicted destruction of Jerusalem with His parousia, not even in the great address on the second coming in Mark xiii. It might indeed appear as though He did; for the disciples at the beginning of that address ask the Lord about the signs and the time of Jerusalem's destruction (xiii. 4). And yet in the course of the address the Lord comes to speak of the beginnings of sorrows (ver. 9), the great tribulation (vv. 19, 24), which is to precede the end, and finally of the end itself (vv. 7, 13, 24), when the Son of Man and the final kingdom appear (vv. 24—27). Finally, in declaring His ignorance of the day and hour He assuredly refers to His final coming, and it is just it for which He exhorts His disciples to watch (vv. 32—37).

But Colani (*Jesus Christ et les Croyances Messianiques*

de son temps, 2nd ed., 1864, p. 201 f.), Weiffenbach (*Der Wiederkunftsgedanke*, pp. 90–192), Weizsäcker (*Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, 1864, p. 121 f.), Pfleiderer (“Über die Komposition der eschatolog. Rede, Matt. xxiv.,” in the *Jahrb. f. d. Theolog.* xiii. 1868, pp. 134–149), Wendt, Baldensperger, J. Weiss, etc., have seen that those parts of chap. xiii. which refer to Jesus’ prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and to the exhortations to the disciples, are not originally connected with the others which have to do with the second coming. Haupt,¹ indeed, has proved that the view of those investigators who deduce those parts from a little Jewish Christian Apocalypse is not sufficiently established. But he himself resolves the address into individual sayings of the Lord, so that even the connection of the parts of those two main divisions proves to be mostly non-authentic, and still less can it be proved that Jesus originally subordinated that catastrophe of Jerusalem to the idea of His second coming.

Moreover, it is the less necessary to our purpose to enter into a detailed investigation of the discourse in Mark, as the Evangelist, notwithstanding that prefixed question about the destruction of the temple, does not mention it in the discourse itself, and even presupposes its continuance in ver. 14, while, on the other hand, the *θλίψις*, by which we would have to understand that destruction, does not so

¹ Cf. *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu*, 1895, p. 21 ff.

much coincide with the parousia as precede it (ver. 24). The incidental references require no special consideration, as Mark's account is recognised as the most original.

Hence we find sayings of the Lord about the second coming and the destruction of Jerusalem, besides perhaps Mark xiii. 30 and 32—to which we will return—which originally were never even outwardly united with each other. In Matt. xxiii. 35-38, also, the threat of God's judgment was not originally connected with the prediction of the second coming that follows it. For in ver. 37, as Luke xiii. 34 shows, a new connection begins (cf. Haupt, *l.c.*, on the passage). On the other hand, Jesus frequently predicts His parousia in connection with His death and resurrection (cf. Matt. x. 23; Mark ix. 1, xiv. 62). Again, He invariably predicts the destruction of Jerusalem by itself (cf. Luke xxiii. 28 ff., xix. 41-44, xiii. 2-5).

Accordingly, there is no biblical proof for the assumption that Jesus viewed the destruction of Jerusalem as a kind of parousia. Nay, even those who acknowledge a "historical" parousia cannot, "without exaggeration, regard that catastrophe as a coming of the kingdom of God with power" (Haupt, p. 146).

People would hardly have entertained the thought of finding a parousia of Jesus in the penal judgment on the Jews, but for the hope of being able in this way to explain away an incorrect expectation which, to all appearance, the Lord must otherwise

have cherished. This brings us to the most difficult and most important question, namely, whether the confident assumption entertained by the whole of early Christendom, that Jesus would return *in their own generation*, is based on the Lord's own view.

(d) The Time of the Second Coming in Jesus' Prediction

a. His return within His own generation, as based on Mark ix. 1 ; Matt. x. 23 ; Mark xiv. 62, xiii. 30

The position which is taken up by different parties towards this particular question is surprising. We can, indeed, easily conceive how those who regard Christ as a mere man admit—too readily, perhaps—that He expected to come again within that generation. Nor can we wonder that attempts have been made on the positive side to deny this very assumption at any price, so long as it was supposed that we must cling to the old standpoint of inspiration. But nowadays, when even leading representatives of the theological right, such as Kähler, Köstlin, Köhler, etc., have openly given up that standpoint, to set aside unquestionable words of the Lord by a forced exegesis, and cling to the idea that Christ did not assume that time for His second coming, can only be accounted for by a want of clearness, springing from a wrong notion of piety, and by an inability to fix aright the demarcation of the divine

and human in Christ's person. But the matter may also have an objective reason, namely, that the passages in question, which irrefutably settle the facts, still require to be thoroughly examined from the exegetic as well as from the psychological standpoint.

I would fain hope, therefore, that this attempt, made in a "positive" sense, may in some measure attain its purpose of effecting that much-needed demarcation in one of the most difficult points of theology which I have had before me for more than four years. When Grass despatches the problem in question in a note (*l.e.* p. 97), and adds, this fact "in view of Mark ix. 1 and Luke ix. 27 should no longer be denied in favour of an unnecessary apologetic," this is as yet a pious wish, which at the same time raises the suspicion that Grass has not appreciated the difficulties of the subject, especially in its psychological and Christological aspect. J. Weiss also, by some excellent suggestions, proves the probability of Jesus meaning to come again in His own generation (*l.e.* p. 32). Haupt's able treatise, recently published, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien* (1895), which endeavours with great acuteness to prove the opposite of Grass's assumption,¹ shows that a thorough discussion of the question is not superfluous. On the contrary, this is a question which only our own age, by its

¹ The conception of B. Weiss will be dealt with separately under (d) §.

increasing historical culture, has been fitted to solve, and one which urgently demands this solution on account of its extraordinary importance for our estimate of the person of Christ.

When I had entirely finished this work and was about to send it to the press, I received Titius' recent book, *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*, 1895, which discusses the kingdom of God in a harmonious, clear, and comprehensive way. His standpoint being essentially similar to my own, he agrees with my conclusions even in many details. In opposition to Grass, he recognises the "objective difficulty" which lies above all in the fact that "Jesus' view shows itself here to be limited by the ideas of His age and so far untenable," but the end he has in view does not require him to deal with it (p. 146). On the other hand, he makes many pertinent remarks regarding the exegetic and psychological aspects of our question (pp. 140-147). While welcoming his discussion as a confirmation of the essential correctness of my own view, I feel all the more called upon to enter on the more detailed examination of the problem, as Titius, from the difference of his aim, could only touch it in passing.

Let us therefore examine first of all the exegetic foundation. When Jesus assures His disciples in Mark ix. 1 that some (*τινές*) of those around Him are not to taste of death until they have seen the kingdom of God come with power, there is no other exposition possible than the eschatological, which

agrees with the conception of the whole of early Christendom (p. 248 f.). That is a very important fact. For this single passage, accordingly, proves that Jesus expected and promised to return at the end of His generation. Only "some," indeed, but still "some" of those around Him are to live to see it. He intends, therefore, to return before, but not much before, His contemporaries have all passed away. Here it is self-evident that He does not wish to predicate anything of this or that individual present. That would be divination, which is in contradiction with His genuine prophecy. Those who surround Him represent rather His contemporary Jewish companions. In particular, however, He probably imagines here, as in Matt. x. 23, that His disciples will not all have died before He returns.

As for this passage already touched upon, I do not see why Haupt, who likewise recognises it as eschatological, should leave it out of account (p. 143) in determining the moment of Jesus' return. If it contains no "direct statement of time," it does clearly contain an indirect one. For when Jesus clearly foreannounces to His disciples who are present that He intends to come again while they are still engaged in their ministry to Israel, that undoubtedly implies that some of them at least must be alive when He returns.¹ Hence this statement corroborates the time suggested in Mark ix. 1,

¹ Cf. besides John xxi. 22 f.

may, it is just it that seems to prove this time beyond all question.

It is similar with Mark xiv. 62. Haupt claims this passage also as favouring Jesus' "historical" return, but he is wrong. It refers, as expressly as Matt. x. 23, and even more plainly than Mark ix. 1, to the eschatological return (cf. above, p. 156 f.). Jesus, conscious of being the Judge of His judges, hurls in the face of the Sanhedrim the bold threat that He, raised to heavenly Messiahship, will prove this dignity by His coming from Heaven. And they themselves are to see it (*ὄψεσθε*). As this "seeing" can only mean a personal experience, Christ here, as in the former passages, proclaims to His enemies the coming of the Son of Man in their own lifetime, that is, at least before the contemporary generation has died out. This very expression in that connection not only points to the final kingdom in general as the aim of His return, but gives us in particular a glimpse of the penal judgment on His enemies. And the expectation that the generation of the murderers of Messiah is *itself* to be overtaken by the curse of its deed, is quite in harmony with the usual manner of prophecy (cf. Matt. xxiii. 36).

Finally, Jesus says expressly in Mark xiii. 30, "Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall certainly (*οὐ μὴ*) not pass away till all these things be accomplished." There is no need, according to Keim and Weiffenbach, to prove that Jesus cannot

have meant by "this generation" the nation of Israel, or even Christendom, or humanity, especially here where He means to fix a time. Unless particular collocations, such as "generations of generations," "generation and generations," etc., require an extended meaning, *γενεά* is wont to retain its proper significance as describing the generation, that is, the totality of those born in a definite age, especially of a particular nation, and then secondarily the age in which these men live. And of course a synonymous Aramaic word must lie at the basis of that. Now, as the addition "this" appears here before generation, nothing else can be thought of than the present contemporaries of the Speaker (cf. especially Luke vii. 31 and xi. 31 f.).¹ Even though we had not the parallel expression in Mark ix. 1, where the promise is made that some of those who stand around Jesus will live to see the second coming, "this generation" can refer only to that of Jesus.

Indeed, the very drawing of this parallel presupposes that Mark xiii. 30 also refers to Jesus' second coming. And that must now be proved. Many apply it to the destruction of the temple, which, according to Jesus' statement, should be witnessed by that generation. Now, in chap. xiii. ver. 4, Mark does indeed make the disciples ask about the time and the signs of this destruction (ver. 2). And the Lord in His answer speaks first of false prophets, abnormal phenomena of nature, wars and

¹ So also Grass, *l.c.* p. 97.

internal strife, as well as of persecution of the disciples, desecration of the temple, and Judea's extreme distress. All that manifestly comes under the point of view of the *signs* (vv. 5-23). But then, amid the most terrible shaking of heaven and earth, appears the Son of Man Himself, and gathers together His elect (vv. 24-27). As no answer is given here to the second question as to the time, Mark must intend to give that answer in vv. 29, 30, which are introduced by a parable (ver. 28). In order, then, to get a better understanding of these three verses, I place them here in connection. They run, "Now learn a parable of the fig tree, when (ὅταν) her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves (or, and the leaves sprout forth, ἐκφυῖ), ye know that the summer is nigh (ver. 28). Even so also when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that He ("it"?) is nigh, even at the door (ver. 29). Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until all these things be accomplished" (ver. 30). The wording of Matthew is essentially the same. Luke says somewhat differently, that as the disciples see of themselves from the "shooting forth" of the trees that summer is nigh, so likewise, when they have seen these things come to pass, they are to know "that the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Luke xxi. 30, 31).

Consequently, when we reflect on the disciples' question, we expect in Mark, vv. 29, 30, first of all an answer as to the time of the destruction of the

temple, since the words "all these things" (*ταῦτα πάντα*) in ver. 30 point back to the very same phrase of that question in ver. 4. But, on the other hand, we must remember that the paragraph in which the Evangelist gives the answer to the question about the signs, contains different parts, which can only refer to the end of the æon, or seem more applicable to it than to that catastrophe. And further, we must remember that the Evangelist uses technical expressions peculiar to eschatology, and in particular to the Apocalypses (*ἀρχαί, ὁδίνων, θλίψις, τέλος*), and that vv. 24–27, directly preceding our context, expressly describe the parousia, while, on the other hand, there is no express mention of the destruction of the temple, which in ver. 14 is rather represented as still existing. At the most it might have been tacitly included in the great tribulation.

When Mark, therefore, makes the fixing of the time follow immediately on the description of the signs and the end, he must refer the signs to the parousia, and the time specification must likewise, if not exclusively, hold good of the latter. In this sense Luke is justified in directly applying the signs to the nearness of the kingdom of God, without taking any notice of the destruction of the temple.

Yet, as there is no absolute guarantee that the Evangelists place Jesus' utterance about the time in its original connection, we shall make no sure progress on this path.

Even a parallel does not really carry us farther. We have a second saying of the Lord, in which He alludes to a fearful judgment of God on the murderers of prophets almost in the same words as here (Matt. xxiii. 31), namely, "all these things are to come upon this generation (*γενεά*, Matt. xxiii. 36). If we were at liberty to take into account the content of the saying, then the judgment of the last day, which is immediately preceded by a bloody requital (ver. 35), would, on account of ver. 33 (*κρίσις τῆς γενένης*), more readily suggest itself than the destruction of Jerusalem taken only by itself. But it is the same here as above, since the connection cannot be proved with certainty to be the original one.

Let us therefore, with regard to what Mark xiii. 29 says about the time, consider nothing but the proper meaning of the passage itself. In the Greek prose of the New Testament, it can hardly without more ado be said of a catastrophe such as the destruction of the temple, that "it is nigh even at the door," while the expression in a sensuous and especially in a personal significance is very well suited to the Judge, for example (cf. Acts iii. 20; Jas. v. 9; Acts v. 9). This would seem to indicate that the phrase "is at the door," in ver. 29, must refer originally to the Son of Man, who appears to bring about the final kingdom (cf. Mark xiii. 26).

Then, as regards the saying which is immediately added in all three Synoptists, that this generation

shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished (ver. 30), it is a fact that the Lord nowhere else, except perhaps in Mark xiii. 15-18, takes unmistakable notice of the moment of Jerusalem's destruction. And the reason is probably as follows. No doubt the disciples, even though they were Galileans, had at any rate a kind of personal interest as Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem, and certainly they had a great religious interest in it as a penal judgment on their obdurate nation. But neither the one interest nor the other holds good of the *time* of that destruction.¹ Hence Jesus seems to have had little cause for alluding particularly to that time, even if He could have done so in other than ordinary prophetic phrases.

On the other hand, not only does He speak in definite words, directly (Mark ix. 1) or indirectly (Mark xiv. 62; Matt. x. 23), of a time of His return, but in innumerable passages He refers, in more general expressions at least, to the possibility of its *being very near*, and builds thereupon the exhortation to constant watchfulness.² And this is easily understood from the great interest which His people could not but have in being united to Him again, and that for ever.

But, above all, it was a matter of the greatest importance in a moral and religious sense, both as

¹ At the worst they could have fled, which they were advised to do in Mark xiii. 14.

² We shall give more particulars of this anon.

regards themselves personally, and indirectly as regards the gospel also, whether the goal of His whole mission, around which the disciples' vocation in prayer (Matt. vi. 10), labour, and suffering revolved, was perhaps at hand, and how they were to conduct themselves towards it.¹ Hence for this reason it is more than probable that that statement in Mark xiii. 30, about the space of one generation, applies originally to Jesus' second coming in the same sense as Mark ix. 1, especially as it is in thorough keeping with this passage.

Yet Haupt prefers to apply both dates in vv. 29, 30, to the destruction of the temple, and endeavours to prove this by their connection with ver. 28. But, according to Haupt's own most characteristically subtle view, the agreement of these verses, as already remarked (p. 166), can decide nothing, as it can only prove that they *may* have been connected, but not that they actually were (cf. Haupt, p. 37). Still, I regard them as agreeing, only I understand vv. 29 and 30 as referring to the parousia.

If, at the outset, the objection should be raised that Jesus could not have asserted that the parousia would take place within that very generation so strongly as is done in ver. 31, the objection would have force only after it was proved that this verse itself had kept its original connection. It appears

¹ Even this did not immediately affect the content of salvation itself.

to me, however, to be a gloss (similar to the glosses that can be proved in Luke ix. 54, 55, 56, or Mark ix. 44, 46, or 1 John v. 7, etc.). It was just assurances of that kind that were natural enough at a time when people began to be in doubt as to Christ's promise to return within that generation. For it was the firm belief of all Christians, as it was the belief of the Lord Himself, that Heaven and earth would pass away sooner than a single promise made by Him should fail to be fulfilled (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 1-9). How easy, then, was it for a Christian reader to give expression to this belief with the view of strengthening the Church! This might surely have been done with as little guile at least as the interpolation of the Church doctrine of the Trinity in 1 John v. 7. The form, however, followed of itself from the almost similar assurance of Jesus in Matt. v. 18, so that the author of the interpolation might feel convinced that he was reproducing in his own words the mind of Christ.¹

Jesus, indeed, could not have staked Heaven and earth on such a prediction as that this generation would live to see His second coming. That is self-evident to every one who, like myself, fully believes in His sinlessness. But there does not seem to have been any sufficient reason why He should have used such strong expressions even with regard to His prediction of the destruction of the temple; especially

¹ Cf. Weiffenbach, pp. 153-156, and his quotation of similar assurances from the Revelation of John and other apocalyptic literature.

when we consider its religious indifference, which has just been emphasised.

The specially important point here was to show that we cannot in any way, by means of this formula of assurance attached to the fixing of the time, make it probable that Jesus meant that assurance to apply to the destruction of the temple and not rather to the parousia.

Haupt objects to the interpretation of the parable of the fig tree which applies it to the woes that precede the parousia; he thinks that could not be the sense in which Jesus originally meant it. For the shooting forth of the fig tree has not the same relation to the nearness of summer that the fearful catastrophe of the last days has to the consummation of the kingdom of God. "In the former we see a movement of the very forces of summer, which makes us infer the nearness of their full development; in the latter, however, we see the utmost increase of the powers that are opposed to the kingdom of God" (p. 36). If an allegorical deepening of the parable were of any importance, the spring storms adduced by Haupt as an example would doubtless illustrate the stormy times before the commencement of the kingdom, better than is done by the shooting forth of the fig tree. Such greater poetic beauty, however, in Jesus' parabolic sayings can at most only be a matter of secondary importance. The "inner relationship between image and reality" (p. 36), which Haupt here misses, can

by no means be shown in all of the undoubtedly genuine parables of Jesus. How little inner affinity is there, for example, between the conduct of the unjust judge, who is moved, by fear of being troubled, to grant the desire of the oppressed widow, and the action of God, who is influenced by the persevering prayers of His people (Luke xviii. 1-7)! Yet the parable admirably fulfils its aim of certifying that persevering prayer will be heard and answered.

Further, how could Jesus have represented the conduct of the unjust steward, who shrewdly cheated his master, as a model for His disciples, if He desired to give prominence to more than this one side of the prudent employment of earthly goods, though in a contrary sense, of course (Luke xvi. 1-9)? Hence the point of the parable depends upon the particular aspect which Jesus wishes to set off by a comparison, though the image should be little in keeping with another aspect of the same thing, or even contradict it.

Now, if Haupt seeks to prove that such a (curtailed) parable as that of the fig tree is not in keeping with the period of distress immediately before the second coming, I shall first of all have to refute the invalidity of this objection, and then attempt to show the objectionable character of the application which Haupt makes. No doubt the connection in which Mark has placed our parable cannot be proved to be authentic in all its details. But that cannot be of any consequence here. For

the question in this case, as we have said, is only the refutation of the assumption that the parable is entirely out of harmony with the period of affliction before the parousia. The parable, however, shows itself rather as a powerful antidote for the prevalent mood which, according to Mark, will characterise the disciples, for their impatience and faintheartedness in presence of the fearful tribulation, so that we must acknowledge at least the inner truth of the reason assigned for this utterance.

The supreme need of such times of affliction is a strong consolation. And Jesus, with the view of imparting that, promises to His disciples that the commencement (the birth, as it were) of the final kingdom shall follow those "travailings" (*ᾠδίνων*) with the same natural necessity as the summer follows the budding of the tree. The point of comparison, therefore, does not lie in the equality of the powers which bring forth spring and summer; nor even in the mere outer nearness, the budding of the tree and summer on the one hand, the "travailings" and the entrance of the kingdom on the other (Haupt, p. 36). It consists rather in the absolute certainty with which the disciples are to see from the shooting forth of the tree the nearness of summer, and from the tribulations the nearness of the final kingdom for which they long. It is therefore unfair to demand of the comparison more than the excellent service which it performs for the disciples, namely, assuring them by a palpable example drawn from

nature of the nearness of their deliverance just when the affliction is greatest (cf. Luke xxi. 28 : John xvi. 21, cf. Isa. x. 32 ff.).

There is therefore no reason for rejecting the interpretation indicated with special clearness in Luke, that the afflictions guarantee the nearness of the consummation of the kingdom, the ἐγγίξεν of the καιρός (Luke xxi. 8).

On the other hand, we need not discuss whether Haupt's exposition, which makes "the appearance of the new kingdom of God" "with the coming of Jesus" or "the establishment of the New Testament community" a ground for inferring the speedy "full realisation" of the former,—which is, moreover, not quite the same,—and deduces that the old temple must cease because the new one is built (p. 38 f.), is abstractly more suitable. From His own appearance and the founding of His Church, Jesus very likely inferred the full realisation of the kingdom of God, together with the speedy decay of the old mode of worship. But this is twofold. And, in the first case, our view would rather be confirmed. For that full realisation of the kingdom of God can only be brought about by the parousia, but not by the destruction of the temple. But if that be so, where then is the required agreement between image and reality? And in this case the agreement is inadequate even if we infer the decay of the old worship from the budding forth of the new dispensation. And yet the destruction of the temple does not

follow with absolute necessity even from the decay of the old worship of God, but is at most an indirect consequence of it.

But the interpretation seems to me above all to be scarcely possible from an exegetic standpoint. A parable seeks to illustrate certain relations of the subject compared by a clear sensuous picture from another region, and so to bring it nearer to the understanding. Now, since these relations must as a matter of course remain obscure and ambiguous, unless that which is really sought to be compared is specified, this subject is always designated in an unmistakable way. Otherwise we would have a riddle instead of a parable. In the parables of our Lord, especially, there is no single instance in which He does not expressly designate that subject. Thus they often begin with "the kingdom of heaven is like," etc. Now, if Haupt were right in his interpretation of the parable of the fig tree, then so far would that parable have been from fulfilling its illustrative purpose, that it would rather have remained, up to this last solution, an unsolved riddle misunderstood by everybody.

But still more. The essential comparison is this: as the budding of the tree foreannounces the summer, so ye when ye shall see "these things" come to pass know that "it" is nigh even at the doors. We have hitherto been wont, in accordance with the context, to understand by "these things" the predicted woes. Now, even though we regard this as a false exposi-

tion on the part of the first Christians and the Evangelists, logic requires us to understand by "these things," since the phrase signifies the subject compared, something different from that with which it is compared. This forms rather the logical subject of the parable. And yet Haupt interprets the words "these things" in the sentence "when ye shall see these things come to pass" from the preceding parable by explaining: "When ye see these things, namely, what I have just been saying about the fig tree in the natural sphere, and been using as a comparison with the spiritual and historical sphere, being accomplished in the latter, then know that here also summer is nigh." Accordingly, Haupt seems to supply from the foregoing the summer itself as the subject which is "nigh even at the doors." The tautological form of the paraphrase makes us suspect that the distinction between comparison and thing compared has not been carried out. For here the subject compared, which is somehow indicated in every other case, or is at any rate distinguished from that with which it is compared, would require to be taken or guessed from the parable itself—being thus used *as its own metaphor*. We see, then, how far such a construction is from furnishing the explanation which the comparison as such has in view. Nothing therefore remains but to acknowledge that the parable seeks to illustrate the sure arrival of the parousia after the predicted tribulations.

Now, though Luke xvi. 31 clearly gives the ex-

planation, and though it seems to be understood in Mark and Matthew (Mark xiii. 29 f.; Matt. xxiv. 33 f.), yet, on the other hand, it is quite comprehensible how they can here assign to the parousia essentially the same signs and the same time as to the destruction of the temple or of Jerusalem. For, according to prophetic analogy, a penal judgment on the enemies of God outside and within Israel is wont to precede the appearance of the final kingdom which the prophet, as a rule, places in his own age. Now, if the first Christians were certain that Jesus meant to set up the final kingdom in His own day, they knew, on the other hand, as is clear from the prophecy already referred to in Mark xiii. 2, that He also predicted the destruction of the temple and of Jerusalem (cf. Mark xiv. 58; Luke xiii. 3-5; Matt. xxiii. 28-38; Luke xix. 41-44, xxi. 20, 24). Hence it was quite in the line of prophecy to represent the final judgment as taking place not long before the appearance of the final kingdom. In like manner, the Baptist also presupposes that the first duty of the Messiah, when He appeared, would be to judge the seed of Abraham (Matt. iii. 10-12). And in Jesus' statement, Matt. xxiii. 38, 39, the destruction of Jerusalem, which is elsewhere predicted, is no doubt to commence before the conversion of Israel at His return, and after the threatened withdrawal of the divine presence, of which withdrawal it is an actual proof.

β. What Sort of Return of Jesus follows from the Way in which He conceives the Relation of His Disciples to it and prepares them for it

Let us return to Jesus' placing of the time of His return in His own generation. Even apart from the proof of this fact derived from the passages just discussed (Mark ix. 1, xiv. 62; Matt. x. 23; Mark xiii. 30), the whole way in which the Lord treats the relation of His hearers to that event presupposes that they, not so much in their individual capacity, as in the sense of representing the current generation, are to live to see the parousia. Haupt himself admits that Jesus here always speaks in such wise, and never expressly contemplates a longer interval (p. 140). He further acknowledges that "everything said about the parousia, and the events preceding it, always appears in the second person plural, so that the presupposition is that those addressed will live to see it, and there is not a single passage where account is taken of the possibility of their all being dead before it" (p. 138). I need only call attention to the words of the Lord already discussed in order to confirm this judgment. Accordingly, he concludes, it would "seem, therefore, to be possible that Jesus, by the second person, meant His disciples, without reflecting on the individual persons then present" (p. 140).

After what has been said, I can only find in this fact, which Haupt also recognises, a strong confirm-

ation of the idea that Jesus meant His eschatological coming to take place within His own generation. Haupt, however, to one's surprise, draws the further inference, that He "may have thought quite generally of believers" (p. 140). But why should that which is said in reference to His present twelve disciples be at once suited to believers of all times? That would require to be specially established. Haupt supposes that it did not occur to the Lord to reflect "whether those present would live to see the parousia," even as representatives of their generation, because the question of time "has no existence" for Him (p. 141). If that really were so, then Jesus could not have said in Mark ix. 1 that (only) some of those around Him would live to see the coming of the kingdom of God. Haupt himself correctly observes that a "longer period" is presupposed here (p. 145), and that the question is as to those exceptional persons who are to live to see it (p. 140). Accordingly, the "question of time" is undeniably an "element in Jesus' thought," whether we think the event means a "coming of the kingdom of God with greater power," as Haupt does (p. 144 f.), or the beginning of that kingdom in its final form (cf. Haupt, p. 145), as I do.

It would indeed be a soothsaying, in contradiction to Jesus' usual style, if He had thought of definite individuals who were still to be alive at His coming. Here, on the contrary, the important thing for Him is the "expression of the triumphant assurance

of faith" that His own generation, humanly conceived, therefore, including the disciples, is not yet to be extinct, "that men then living will get a sight of the coming of the Son of Man" (cf. pp. 145, 138). This, therefore, is a prediction quite on the lines of prophecy. But precisely as such it involves an element of time just as well, nay, quite the same element as the predictions of almost all prophets who refer to the consummation of the kingdom. For, as is well known, these, with specially conditioned exceptions, likewise see its beginning on the horizon of their own day (chap. i., second prophetic principle).

My honoured opponent must likewise acknowledge that the question of time was an element in Jesus' thought when He applies His prediction, "this generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished," to the destruction of Jerusalem, which was to take place within His own generation.

Accordingly, if the Lord always speaks as if those present would live to see His coming at the last day (p. 140), I do not see what right Haupt has for making Him have in view, though only unconsciously and involuntarily, "His future Church" (p. 141), and not rather consciously think of the present generation. Just as little do I understand why the same investigator, when in one place he thinks that the question of time was "not an element in Jesus' thought," should nevertheless make exceptions, nor why he limits these only to Matt. xvi. 28, xxvi. 64 (p. 141).

Moreover, the way in which Jesus seeks to pro-

pare the disciples inwardly for the coming of the day of His return, is of itself a sufficient proof that He looks upon its coming in His own generation not only as possible but as probable. Otherwise He could not, in all those maxims and parables, have so urgently exhorted His followers to watchfulness, lest the day of the Lord should come upon them by surprise. In that case the disciples did not need to "prepare themselves for living to see it" (Haupt, p. 141).

The exhortation to unwearied "watching" runs through the parable of the servants and the porter who await the return of their master, appearing four times in five verses. And this very "watching" is certainly a genuine idea of the parable (Mark xiii. 34-37). Jesus inculcates on His followers the same conscientious readiness to receive their Lord in that cognate parable of the servants who, with loins girt and lamps burning, wait for their lord returning from the wedding (Luke xii. 35-38).

While the wedding is only an incidental feature of this parable, it is an essential element of the idea pervading the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. xxv. 1-12). For here the taking part in the marriage—that is, the joys of the Messianic kingdom—depends upon the being prepared for the coming of the Bridegroom. That establishes its independence of the former.

That continuous readiness, however, is necessary because the arrival of the Bridegroom may be expected

at any time, though the exact moment is unknown. Consequently, though the closing exhortation to watch (ver. 13) may have been added, as it does not accord with the parable in sensuous significance, it fits at any rate in the sense of self-discipline.

Luke xxi. 36 contains a similar exhortation to constant watchfulness. The express reason assigned for it here is the suddenness with which the day of the Lord appears (ver. 34); the illustration of this suddenness by the picture of a snare attesting itself as genuine by its originality (ver. 35; cf. Weiffenbach, pp. 288-290; Holtzmann, *II. C.*, p. 270). Watchfulness is also urged in Mark xiii. 36, that they may not be taken unawares by His sudden arrival. And though the context shows that the comparison of the appearance of the Son of Man in His day with the lightning (Luke xvii. 24) primarily denotes His being universally seen, yet the element of suddenness can scarcely be separated from this view.¹ So, in Luke xii. 40, the Lord likewise bases His exhortation to constant readiness on the unexpectedness of His appearing, which He illustrates by the comparison of a thief breaking into the house (ver. 39, and Matt. xxiv. 43). This is an image which recurs more than once in the New Testament writings, and thereby points to a genuine reminiscence (1 Thess. v. 2 f.; Rev. iii. 3, xvi. 15; 2 Pet. iii. 10). The comparison of its arrival with the flood and the destruction of Sodom, which surprised the thoughtless, has a similar

¹ J. Weiss is of a somewhat different opinion, *l.c.* p. 32.

meaning (Luke xvii. 26-30). For the final kingdom does not come in a way that could have been reckoned on beforehand (*μετὰ παρατηρήσεως*, John Weiss, p. 30). Thus, in Matt. xxiv. 50, the Lord also surprises the unfaithful servant by coming in a day when he is not looking for Him, and in an hour that he is not aware of. Men's ignorance of the hour is confirmed immediately before in the parable of the thief (Matt. xxiv. 43). And as Mark xiii. 33 assigns ignorance of that moment as a reason for the necessity of watching, so the preceding verse, to which we shall immediately return, denies even to the "Son" the knowledge of "that day or hour."

γ. Jesus' Knowledge of the Day and Hour

It follows from what has already been said, that according to Jesus' view the present generation are to see His second coming, but yet the "day and hour" are concealed from every one, and even from Himself. "But of that day and hour," to give the Lord's own words in the verse just quoted (Mark xiii. 32), "knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only."

Now, from this particular verse some have sought to infer Jesus' consciousness of His absolute ignorance on this point. It would then follow that that other saying, two verses before (xiii. 30), namely, "this generation shall yet see it," is wrongly referred to

His second coming. Our whole discussion up to this seems to make this conception impossible; and even this passage of itself, in my opinion, plainly points to merely relative ignorance on the part of Jesus.

The designation of the moment which is absolutely unknown as "day and hour," in Matt. xxiv. 50, might perhaps (?) be directly explained by the image of the master returning home (cf. ver. 44). But what other meaning can this expression have in Mark xiii. 32, especially in the form "of that day or hour knoweth no man," than that Jesus seeks to deny the knowledge of the *exact* moment? This, of course, naturally assumes a knowledge of the *general* time as tacitly contrasted with the particular. When anyone says that he does not know the day and hour of his death, he presupposes that he has a general knowledge of the length of a human life. When he says he knows not the day nor the hour of death, the declaration of ignorance relates to a shorter period than the general length of life. We have, then, the idea of a climax; I cannot tell the day or even the hour of my death. That can only be said with the view of disclaiming the imputation of a more exact but not of a general knowledge, far less of absolute ignorance. Again, if one should say, "I cannot tell the day and hour," or even, "I cannot tell the day or hour," in which France will perish, or, "in which the earth will become a mass of ice," he would make himself ridiculous. The only reason for this would be that by using such a precise nomenclature one would

necessarily disclaim, not the possession of a general knowledge, but the knowledge of the precise date.

Here, then, Jesus' words, that He knows not the day nor the hour, cannot signify entire ignorance of the date,—that would indeed be ridiculous (Haupt, p. 39),—but ignorance of the exact moment, which tacitly assumes a knowledge of the general time.

This assurance, therefore (rejecting the spurious ver. 31), fits in admirably after ver. 30 to limit Jesus' assumption that this generation will see His second coming, so far as concerns a still more exact knowledge of the moment.¹

When Jesus further urgently enjoins His disciples to watch for His second coming, and illustrates this by the images of the servants who wait for the coming of their master, the porter who watches, the virgins who go out to meet the coming bridegroom, all this is intelligible only if the uncertainty about the moment of the coming is not absolute, but limited to a presupposed definite period. The proverb, "Hoping and waiting make fools of many," must no doubt hold good of those who all their life expect the arrival of an event, which may just as well fail to come, in such wise that they are convinced of its coming in their lifetime, and never even once suspect that it may not come.

¹ Some weight should be laid on the "or" in the phrase time "or" hour, because "and" is much more natural, and therefore an intentional emendation of "and" seems almost impossible, and for the same reason even a slip in writing. On the other hand, the converse change in D is quite natural.

But it is not merely in a general way that those parables and sayings of the Lord show that only a relative ignorance of the time is indicated. The peculiarity of some of them plainly confirms this in a special fashion. Luke xii. 38 leaves it doubtful whether the Lord who is expected will come in the second or third watch of the night. And in Mark xiii. 35 He exhorts the disciples themselves to watchfulness, on the ground that they know not whether the Master of the house will come at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or in the morning. It does not seem to me quite impossible that the two time-designations belonged to separate parables. But whichever of the two is dependent on the other, there is no ground for doubting that the *mode* of defining the time is original. Now, if the lack of information as to the arrival is referred to the space included in the (four) night watches, the night again appears as a definite period within which alone the time of coming can reasonably be expected.

Thus the genuine parables and sayings of the Lord that have anything to do with the moment of His second coming confirm the result we have reached. It is indeed to take place within the generation then living, but no more exact date can be fixed. For that very reason the disciples must be always on their guard lest they be surprised by its unexpected appearance.

When the first Christians—all of whom, as I have shown, really expected that return in their own

generation—were at length undeceived, they were compelled by the firmness of their belief in Jesus' prediction to suppose that the Lord Himself contemplated the possibility of a delay. Alongside of the prevailing supposition that the second coming within the period named would take place sooner than was expected, we now find also some hints to the effect that it may be delayed longer than one thinks or hopes. It would therefore be natural to question the originality of such views, and to deduce the expression of them in the Gospels from the above - mentioned disappointment of the early Christian communities. Words such as the remark in Matt. xxv. 19, that the Lord would return "after a long time," might in themselves perhaps favour that idea as the parallel parable, in Luke xix., knows nothing of it in the corresponding passage, although it also does speak (ver. 12) of the nobleman travelling into "a far country."

However, we must remember that in Jesus' prediction the day of His return is preceded by fearful miseries, especially for His disciples (Mark xiii. 9-13: Matt. x. 17-22, cf. v. 11 f.). In such times, therefore, they must have longed for the end of the tribulation that the coming of their Lord was to bring (Luke xvii. 22 f.). But then they naturally felt that it was too long in coming. Hence the Lord had every reason, in view of such times, to exhort His followers to persevering patience, lest they should forfeit the salvation of their souls (Luke

xxi. 19 ; Mark xiii. 20). This easily explains Jesus' allusions to the fear of the disciples that He may delay His coming, *e.g.*, in the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. xxv. 5), as well as in Matt. xxiv. 48 and Luke xviii. 7. It was also in accordance with His standpoint, in presence of such despair, to point out that the expected event would soon (*ἐν τάχει*) occur; even though the corresponding saying in Luke xviii. 8 should prove an interpolation in the present context, and should be not quite original in form.

δ. *The Possibility of the Prediction of the Second Coming from the Standpoint of Psychology*

Having exegetically established the fact that Jesus meant to come again in His own generation, we must now give a deeper psychological proof, as the objections to its possibility are usually made from this very side. Haupt, in reference to Mark ix. 1, cannot explain how Jesus "could have fixed a time so definitely as to be certain that some, and only some, would live to see the parousia" (p. 145). Here, as we have already seen, there can be no thought of reckoning individual persons. The content of this saying is rather the same as the corresponding one in Mark xiii. 30, that the present generation is not to be extinct before Jesus comes. But He might, at least, just as well have expected this as that the destruction of Jerusalem should take

place in that generation. And yet Haupt himself thinks that He reckoned on that. But though the Jews' hatred of their oppressors might have pointed to a rising against Rome, and therefore to a complete break-up of the nation and destruction of its capital in that generation, there was also a possibility of its turning out different. Here also there was no sign of the time which gave Jesus an absolute assurance that the issue must necessarily be just this. He could only in the last instance have drawn the proper prophetic conviction from moral and religious grounds. To Him, in judging of Jerusalem's fate, the determining factor must have been the necessity of a divine requital because of the final rejection of the religious mission by the Jewish nation. Because it rejected its Messiah it must itself be rejected.

But we must remember here that ignorance of the time of such events is a characteristic limitation of all prophecy. And this holds good of more than the destruction of Jerusalem, the time of which was predicted by Micah, *e.g.*, 120 years too early, that is, altogether incorrectly. This defect is still more prominent as regards the time of the consummation of the kingdom. The expectation that it will begin at least at the end of one's own age is such a regular error of the prophets, that it would have been surprising if it had not been found in Jesus likewise. And indeed, as I have repeatedly emphasised, just because, however important the thing might be in itself, the time of its appearance had

no immediate moral and religious significance, and therefore no bearing on Jesus' proper calling as Saviour. Because He concentrated all His interests on His calling, He could at bottom only have had a receptive relation to other domains of thought, and therefore frankly accepted the sacred tradition regarding points like these which did not lie within His own special sphere.¹

This could not by any means, as Haupt supposes (p. 139), have led Him to think only of "what His calling required." For there were many thoughts which lay indeed outside the circle of His immediate religious ideas, but yet bordered on it, and to which, therefore, the conditions, circumstances, and current notions must necessarily have led Him. And then He could all the less have had an independent and authoritative judgment in those other spheres, the farther from and the more foreign to His interest the things in question were. The result of this could not have been, as Haupt will have it, a freedom from error, but a naïve dependence on the ideas of others, especially on sacred subjects, and a series of artless errors. He could only in the end have been preserved from incorrect notions in virtue of His most peculiar and perfect communion with God, and therefore also only with regard to moral and religious things.

Though the Lord, therefore, was conscious of being unable to state the exact time,—a sign of the

¹ Unless He had special grounds for not doing so.

thorough conscientiousness of His thinking, — He could hardly help, especially from His view of inspiration, assuming that the final kingdom would appear in the lifetime of His own generation, just as the prophets had always done. But, just because He only dwelt upon an idea when the circumstances and data led directly to it (cf. Haupt, p. 139), He had no occasion to reflect whether the period would not perhaps extend beyond a single generation (Haupt, p. 138).

On the other hand, there is no reason why He should not have uttered what He really thought when answering the disciples' question, though indeed not so categorically as seems to be the case in the interpolated verse, Mark xiii. 31. Had He staked Heaven and earth upon the certainty that His return, or even the destruction of Jerusalem, would take place in that generation, it would have displayed an undue self-confidence in His knowledge which could not but have tarnished His moral purity. He might indeed have pledged Heaven and earth for the victory of His cause; but He must have felt that He lacked the moral and religious guarantee for the time, which had nothing to do, or only indirectly, with that victory in itself. Such a view would contain a misjudgment of the character of Jesus.

But there were general and special reasons for His not becoming conscious of that error regarding the time which He shared with the prophets.

Who would like even now to estimate with certainty the length of time required to mature man's earthly development, according to the concrete arrangement of circumstances as guided by divine providence? We must confess that even yet our survey of the plan of the world is but very partial. How easy is it to leave out of account a factor which overthrows our whole reckoning!

If we consider how little the men of that day were capable of understanding the various circumstances that influence the development of events and the limits of their geographical and historical horizon, then Jesus, as a child of His time, could not possibly have known any better than His contemporaries the conditions on which great outward occurrences depend.

If the more cultured Paul was perfectly confident that he would live to see the day of Jesus' second coming, Jesus' view of this subject, the correct estimation of which is so much dependent on historical erudition and ripeness of pragmatic judgment, was probably still less influenced by the different conditions of the case. And if Paul expected beforehand the evangelising of the whole earth, that is, within his generation (Rom. xi. 25, cf. i. 8, xv. 16, 23 f.), much more might Jesus have contemplated the final proclamation of the gospel to the people of Israel within this period. For, as we have seen, a mission to the Gentiles in the proper sense never entered into His thought.

But there are special reasons in Jesus' own peculiar character which must have prevented His judgment on this matter from going beyond that of His time. He, in particular, had neither the duty nor any occasion for reflecting upon the realisation of human powers in general, both in the individual and in the race, or on the development of all the forces that can be set free in the present era. The only question for Him, as a religious genius and practical Shepherd of souls, was the religious tendency and the goal of this movement.

Besides, He knew and prized the efficiency of the divine word and spirit as one to which all things are possible (Mark x. 27, cf. ix. 23).

It may be thought that a man like Jesus, who took such large, broad, and deep views of things, could not have believed that, seeing the preparation for the coming of the final kingdom had required thousands of years, it would now begin at latest a generation after His appearance. But the very length of the time of preparation, together with the fact that His brief ministry must by God's decree essentially suffice for the sowing, might naturally have led Him to expect, especially towards the end of His activity, that the harvest was not far off (cf. John iv. 35 ff., xii. 23, 31).

Further, as the pious longing of the prophets involuntarily shortened the time between them and the consummation, so the longing of the Sinless Saviour, who suffered unspeakably from the im-

perfection of this æon and the sinfulness of men, His expectation of a final conquest of moral and physical evil, and the consequent attainment of the goal of His mission, must have made Him outrun history. The very pious up to our own day have often, for similar reasons, believed that the returning Lord was at the doors.

But if the prophets, as practical pastors, were wont to postpone the anticipated judgment of God and time of salvation, or even the final kingdom itself, to the end of their own age at most,—apart from specially conditioned exceptions,—Jesus had a sufficient reason for expecting the appearance of the final kingdom at latest by the end of His own generation. That reason lies in His personal position towards this kingdom, and contains the whole truth of the matter. For the Lord knew that the kingdom of God was already present in His own appearance (see γ, 181 ff.). Even now God communicated to men, inwardly at least, the greatest blessing of salvation, full communion with Himself, through Jesus. The future would only bring its perfect form. Thus far only one thing was still needful in Jesus' view. After He had passed to God's right hand as a glorified Messiah, the disciples, as His successors, must once more and finally offer salvation to the nation of Israel which had rejected Him (Matt. x. 23).

And in reality that crowning of the world's history that was longed for and promised by the

prophets, and after which nothing essentially new in this respect can any longer arise, had at bottom—that is, morally and religiously—taken place with His appearance.

Hence Jesus, who knew that all predictions were fulfilled in Himself, and was convinced of the religious finality of the new time ushered in by Him, could scarcely conceive that this would not also be final in a temporal sense, that is, would bring the predicted end of the world. For His conviction that the spiritual completion of the world had now begun with Him, which was the expression of His Messianic consciousness, could not fail to exert a decisive influence as regards the closely allied conception of the end of the world.

We can easily understand, then, how far He must have been from thinking that He could be mistaken in fixing the time of His return within that generation. That He should have had no such idea cannot perhaps be regarded as absolutely unavoidable. For man is not a sum in arithmetic. But we understand how, as a matter of fact, His strong faith in God's omnipotence and in His own mission, along with His position as fulfiller of the prophetic prediction, regarded from His standpoint in respect of revelation, combined with the general human and prophetic limitations in hindering the rise of such a thought.

From all this, then, it is evident that we must recognise the fact that Jesus was unquestionably

deceived with regard to the time of His second coming. Before estimating the importance of this fact, however, we must examine two ways by which some seek to avoid this deduction.

ε. *Weiffenbach's Identification of the Prediction of the Resurrection and that of the Second Coming*

Weiffenbach assumes that by His return in that generation Jesus meant His resurrection (pp. 373-424). This hypothesis, however, notwithstanding the acuteness with which it is argued, lacks sufficient biblical proof. If, in Mark viii. 27-ix. 1, Jesus' prediction of His personal coming stands in continuous connection with that of His resurrection (viii. 31), the originality of that connection has at least become questionable, especially since Erich Haupt (cf. Haupt, pp. 10-12). But even apart from that, Weiffenbach cannot at once conclude that they coincide because the Evangelist does not here indicate that the two things are to be thought apart (p. 393). This might even have been omitted because the distinction between them is self-evident. And so it is; for by the "coming of the kingdom" (Mark ix. 1), or "coming in His kingdom" (Matt.), Jesus cannot mean His resurrection, because this of itself does not at all involve His founding of the kingdom. And if (only) some are to live to see this coming (ix. 1), it follows undeniably that Jesus did not expect this

return in a few days, and therefore cannot possibly have meant by it a resurrection after three days. And yet this fixing of the time to the effect that only some are to live to see it, is the less questionable because it is almost verbally confirmed by Mark xiii. 30.

On the other hand, when in Luke xvii. 24 the Lord compares the return of the Son of Man to the lightning which shines from one part of heaven to the other, and then continues (ver. 25), "But first must He suffer many things, and be rejected of this generation," the meaning manifestly is, that His sufferings and death must necessarily take place before the consoling prospect of Jesus' second coming can be realised (cf. ver. 22). Yet the word "before" declares nothing about the interval which is to elapse between death and second coming. Weiffenbach, therefore, has no right to conclude that the occurrence of the latter event immediately after His death is here taken for granted, and therefore that the resurrection, "as an intermediate term between death and second coming, is excluded by the context and wording" (p. 393 ff.). On the contrary, the second coming here cannot mean the resurrection. This at once follows from the fact that a universal visibility is ascribed to this coming by its comparison with the lightning (ver. 24).

If Jesus' prediction of a second coming had referred to His resurrection, then, with the prospect of such a speedy return, He could not have warned

His disciples repeatedly, with such emphasis and minute discrimination of time, not to allow themselves to be surprised by the day, especially as He makes their eternal destiny to depend on the degree of their watchfulness and preparation.¹

Our discussion of the prediction of the resurrection will have exposed another error of Weiffenbach, on which he rests his view. He supposes that the content of the prediction of the resurrection, so far as it is critically established, does not go beyond that of the second coming, as their common content is "the victorious restitution of the Messianic cause and person of Jesus." We found, however, no reason why Jesus should merely have uttered the prediction of the resurrection in a vaguer form than that which is handed down. On the contrary, we saw that, according to the standard of contemporary notions, and in virtue of what was from a human standpoint a very possible expectation, He must have conceived it essentially as we find it in the New Testament.

On the other hand, He must not only have expected the resurrection for Himself, but He must have looked for its glorious perfection through His risen personality on behalf of His kingdom. And that is not contained in the resurrection of itself. That primarily concerns His person only, and is itself again only a means for that setting up of the kingdom. Now, what could induce us to dis-

¹ Observe especially the above time specification, "after three days."

pute the separate prediction of His second coming for the purpose of setting up the kingdom, when we see from the situation in which Jesus was placed and the views of His contemporaries the necessity of His expectation therein expressed?

The main defect of Weiffenbach manifestly is, that he detaches the second coming from its purpose and goal, which is plainly the setting up of the kingdom. He can only identify it with the prediction of the resurrection by means of this detachment and by the ingenious rejection of other distinctions.

Now, although there is no such identity, yet Weiffenbach comes near the truth in respect of their being, as we saw, originally very closely connected as means and end. For Jesus meant to rise from the dead for the very purpose of setting up the kingdom. Hence also the disciples at first supposed that the Risen One would immediately proceed to set up the kingdom (Acts i. 6).

Though they were nevertheless speedily satisfied with Jesus' words, which reserved to the Father the more exact time of setting up the kingdom (Mark xiii. 32; Acts i. 7), they drew all the deeper assurance from that other saying of the Lord which promised that the goal they longed for would be reached in the lifetime of that generation.

§. *B. Weiss' Conception of the Non-Fulfilment of the Time fixed by Jesus for His Return*

Weiffenbach's identification of the prediction of resurrection and return was meant to avert an error of Jesus regarding the time of His return (pp. 421-424). B. Weiss admits the fact that the Lord expected and predicted His personal eschatological return in the lifetime of His own generation,¹ but yet controverts the idea that this view of Jesus involves an error. To the Lord, indeed, he says the appearance of the final kingdom in that generation was an expectation based on "well-established assumptions." Nay, it is as certain to Him as the "unchangeable decree of God" itself, so that, in the view of Jesus, God can as little dispense with the one as with the other (*Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. p. 92 ff., cf. p. 266; *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, § 33). But yet the Lord Himself seems to regard "all categorical certainty as to the period within which His return must take place as definitely excluded." We cannot, therefore, speak of an error.

But is not that certainty of Jesus, established by Weiss, that the consummation of salvation will appear in His own generation, as categorical as possible, according to his own showing? How can such a firm conviction have left the "possibility" open

¹ Cf. the striking proof which he gives, *e.g.*, in *Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. pp. 80-97.

“ that God’s inscrutable decree may yet postpone that consummation ” ? (p. 308 f.).

This union of two such incompatible moods in the self-consciousness of Jesus presupposes, however, a unique apprehension of the relation of fulfilment to prediction with which I am unable to agree. It seems to me that Weiss overestimates the influence that the freedom and present moral conduct of men have in conditioning and modifying the divine decrees, and at the same time leaves too much out of account the past of the generations in question (cf. *Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. p. 92 ff.). The mutability of God’s predicted purposes is, however, by no means an unqualified one. There are also predictions whose fulfilment is not subject to any possibility of change. In many passages the prophets declare the destruction of Jerusalem as a fate that is quite inevitable.

Manifestly, therefore, Jesus’ prediction that He would return within that present generation—a prediction which He uttered before the Sanhedrim in the most solemn moments and in prospect of death—does not admit of the assumption that He limited His prophetic foresight in this respect.¹ The Synoptics do not furnish the slightest ground for the assumption that He considered men’s conduct as capable of modifying the time, or even of postponing it for thousands of years. Of course the fulfilment of this prediction also is subject to moral conditions.

¹ See p. 290 f., where it is shown why Jesus was not aware of this error.

The condition lies in the rejection and putting to death of the Saviour by the Jewish people, which would necessitate His return. But this condition is fully taken into account here, and cannot be viewed by Jesus as standing in the way of the execution of the "unchangeable" decrees of God.

Nay, He was convinced that the consummation of salvation would commence in His generation, although at that time it was not even possible. The incorrectness of His notion, therefore, is pretty far-reaching, though I do not believe the self-assurance of Jesus was so great as Weiss assumes (see above, p. 188).

To put it more exactly: Jesus' certainty of the matter was categorical in so far as He never even suspected that it could come otherwise, but rather assumed the time with perfect frankness. The reasons just adduced, however, show that a categorical certainty *that He could not be mistaken on this point* had no existence at all. Moreover, the incorrectness of a notion determines the error; the degree of the objective incorrectness its greatness, and the degree of personal self-assurance its strength.

Let us, however, fix our attention once more on the possibility of the thing itself. Who would seriously carry his idea as to the possibility of men's conduct modifying the divine plan of salvation so far, as to believe that it was indeed the original plan of God to make the return of Jesus take place within His own generation, but its execution was prevented by special

hindrances of "historical development," which were not dependent on God alone? (*Life of Jesus*, vol. iii. p. 93). Was it, then, objectively possible that Jesus' return, and with it the consummation of the world, should begin in the time of Jesus' generation? that is, at a moment when the greatest part of the earth had no knowledge of the Saviour, and could not have obtained it in such a short space of time? when the development of human history had certainly not yet reached its maturity? (cf. Mark iv. 29). But if, again, we cannot admit the possibility of that, we cannot deny that Jesus was mistaken on this point. And so even this ingenious expedient of the celebrated exegete fails.¹

(c) *The Significance of the Non-Fulfilment of Part of the Prediction of the Second Coming*

We have seen that Jesus, in accordance with the meaning of His prediction of return and the general belief of early Christendom, intended to come again

¹ The "negatively ascetic" (p. 42) deductions which J. Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*, pp. 42-50) draws from this eschatological position of Jesus, have already had their importance estimated, and their onesidedness corrected and completed, by E. Ehrhardt (*l.c.* p. 115 ff.), and Titius (*l.c.* pp. 67-87), so that I can here leave them out of account. The religious content of Jesus' primitive revelation, which was in keeping with the divinity of His person, was necessarily more important, not only theoretically, but still more in respect to practical morality, than the eschatological form. He who possesses the divine life can also appreciate the eternal content of the earthly, the perishable, and sinful life (specially opposed to p. 48; cf. also J. Weiss, *D. Nachfolge Christi*, p. 24 f.).

from Heaven within that generation in a spiritual body and with divine majesty, in order to set up the final kingdom on the glorified earth. Though the spiritual body seems to correspond to the glorification of Jesus' humanity, yet His idea on this point also cannot be absolutely authoritative, as the question has no immediate moral and religious value.

On the other hand, so far as I can judge, human knowledge is too limited to be able to decide with certainty whether the personal descent of Christ in a spiritual body for the setting up of the final kingdom on the glorified earth will be fulfilled.³

But even though this assumption of the Lord could be proved incorrect, it would not in any case bring upon Him the reproach of presumption and fanaticism. For the impropriety here does not apply to the contents, but only to the form of the notion. He really knew that He was the absolute Mediator of salvation, through whose person, therefore, salvation must undoubtedly be brought to men (cf. Weiffenbach, p. 399; Baldensperger, 2nd ed., p. 257). The connection, therefore, of the "ideal state of recompense" with His person, was a statement of the truth (this is opposed to Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, p. 242). He did not, therefore, overestimate His personal significance in ascribing to Himself that mighty superhuman position which God Himself had assigned to Him and made His task.

There might perhaps be a limitation of His conception in the fact that He expected to come back

personally. But if the divine content of this idea is free from all taint of self-conceit, so also is the worthy though religiously indifferent form of its realisation. And yet this very form seems to be inevitable, from the fact that Jesus was subject to the psychological conditions of His time. For no one knew of a Messiah who would not personally set up His kingdom. Hence Jesus could hardly have held the modern abstraction of an impersonal founding of the kingdom of Heaven, even assuming it to be correct, especially when we consider the actual importance of His personality for that kingdom and its consummation. On the contrary, His idea of the divine omnipotence, of the Messiah and His kingdom, of prophecy and its inspiration, undoubtedly made it self-evident to Him that He personally would found the kingdom (cf. also Keim, *l.c.* iii. 219). Nor, indeed, for that reason, does the fact that He considered it necessary to return in person, as Keim supposes, furnish a sign of special humility (*l.c.* p. 220).

If the Lord expected to come again in person, we cannot set it down as presumption on His part that this coming was to be in divine glory. The bestowal of that for the divine purpose of founding the kingdom could alone correspond to the majesty of God. It would have been a sign of presumption if He had ascribed that majesty to His own human ability. But here, as everywhere, He knew that He was not the Author but only the Mediator and instrument for carrying out the divine plan of salvation. Hence

this view is rather a proof of His immovable faith which could not have entertained a doubt of God's omnipotence.

But we can as little find fanaticism as presumption in the form of Jesus' expectation of His second coming. We have not here an exuberant feeling, flushed perhaps with pride, producing fantastic notions. No; He who gave Himself in complete humility and self-sacrifice to the divine work of setting up the kingdom, whose purity of heart had always ensured for Him the chastest sobriety of feeling untouched by fantasy, found in the notion of His coming again in divine glory the fitting way in which God Himself would lead humanity to its highest goal through Him.

The angel retinue may perhaps be a later addition; but if that be not the case, they were not His but God's angels. The accompanying clouds, on the other hand, illustrated, as we have already urged, the divine authority of His commission. Even though taken literally, they would simply present a childlike but not a fantastic feature—a feature in keeping with the childlike view of a time which, for example, found no difficulty in the story of Elias ascending to Heaven in a chariot of fire.

Again, if there is nothing fanatical in the idea of the spiritual body and of a glorification of the earth as a fitting dwelling-place for glorified spirits, neither is there anything fanatical in the idea of Jesus coming again in a spiritual body to the

glorified earth, whether the idea be correct or not. In this point also, which had no religious importance, Jesus' notion was naturally dependent on the general view of the prophets and Pharisees, as well as of the whole pious people of His day, who laid the scene of the final kingdom on the earth (cf. *a* and *b*).

It is possible that in the case of such metaphysical and other notions as transcended all experience and had no religious significance, such as the body of the future, the nature of the final kingdom, and the like, perfect clearness and unity of view did not altogether appertain to Jesus. For He had neither capacity, nor need, nor occasion, nor call to seek for Himself or others a more exact insight into such things. For He did not, of course, regard all ideas of that kind as being absolutely guaranteed in the same way as He looked upon His personal coming again within that generation. The more detailed features, especially, which could not have had any firm support in prophecy or in the form of His Messianic consciousness, may have been regarded by Him, if He chanced to think of it, as only problematic.

Now, whether Jesus' eschatological return in a spiritual body to the glorified earth may correspond to God's decree or not, He was mistaken, if my discussion is in order, with regard to the time of His return, which He placed in the lifetime of His own generation. Moreover, the imperfection of the notion is specifically prophetic, both as regards the

manner in which the final kingdom appears and the moment of its appearance (cf. i. 10 f.).

At any rate, this error of Jesus is in no way of greater significance and range than the incorrectness of the notion that His mission in life was to fight against a personal super-earthly kingdom of evil spirits. The inappropriate element of this idea¹ also is indeed only the *form* of the truth that He as Messiah was destined to be the thorough conqueror of evil in the world, and this form has no immediate religious importance. But the special aspect which the conviction received here, under the influence of the Persian doctrine of demons, is undoubtedly more closely connected with its religious contents than the time of the consummation of salvation is with that consummation itself. For if, in the former case, the question is as to the proper form of the *matter itself*, in the latter it is only the time of its accomplishment.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Let us now gather up the result with regard to Jesus' prediction of His second coming. It is a well-known fact of Church history that the whole of early Christendom looked forward to the coming of the Lord for the purpose of setting up the kingdom of God in its final form in the lifetime of that generation. We may at once conjecture that this

¹ The proof of this would be too prolix here.

view is derived from the apostles themselves. And in point of fact it is confirmed as genuinely apostolic by the testimony of the entire New Testament writings.

If we examine first of all the extra-synoptic passages, we see that the personal Christ is expected to descend visibly from Heaven in divine majesty, in order to hold the final judgment as God's representative, and, after the transformation of the old earth into a new one, to set up and rule the kingdom of the consummation as a universal kingdom, though in a theocratic form. The day of the return itself appears as a definite point of time not far off, which takes place within the present generation and begins the new æon.

If we compare this picture of the second coming with that which is presented in the Synoptics, the latter is of special importance, because the point here dealt with is the view which is ascribed to the Lord Himself by the Evangelists, that is, by the tradition of the early Church. And we find that this view agrees in all essential respects with what we have already shown to be the conception of the other New Testament writers, both as regards the aim, the form, and the time of His second coming.

Before undertaking this proof, however, it was necessary to examine Jesus' personal conception of the kingdom of God and His position towards it. For that must specially have conditioned His judgment about the setting up of this kingdom, including

its final form ; in other words, about the appearance of the kingdom in its final form, and therefore about His second coming. Hence we examined in the first place Jesus' notion of the kingdom of God in general, and found this in the complete dominion of God, in the perfect victory of the divine saving will. The kernel of that as a relation of the personal God to personal spirits could only have been an inward and religious one. But this relation must have attained its consummation in a heavenly form, which corresponded to the inner contents. Then, on the basis of the Synoptics, we established, in opposition to modern denials, the fact that Jesus, even in His lifetime, was conscious of being the actual personal Messiah, not merely the Heir to the throne, but the King of this kingdom. This led us to investigate the question, which is much discussed at present, as to whether the kingdom of God was viewed by Jesus as already incipiently present in its essential elements, or whether He regarded it as something exclusively future. The former view was forced upon us as the result of exegesis. It was forced upon us, above all, because, in view of certain unquestionable sayings of the Lord (Matt. xii. 28 ; Luke xvii. 21), its opponents were themselves compelled to abandon their own theory ; and secondly, because it is undeniably clear from other passages that Jesus was conscious that His own coming began the time of salvation, that the Spirit of God was bestowed on Him, and that in the power of that

Spirit He was conqueror of the kingdom of Satan, of moral and physical evil. However, it is only on psychological grounds that we can understand why Jesus necessarily believed the kingdom of God to be already present. This necessity followed from the fact that He could only have gained the consciousness of His position as religious Mediator from the primitive revelation of His divine Sonship. Possessed of complete personal salvation, bestowed on Him by the divine saving will completely realised in Himself,—a fact which directly impelled Him to communicate that salvation to men,—He must necessarily have discovered that redemption to be the essential kernel of the divine dominion. Hence, as the bringer of this very salvation to His people by word and work, He must have known that He was even now the founder and ruler of the final kingdom in God's stead, though it was still in an imperfect form. This conception of His Messiahship as already essentially present was then illustrated in various aspects by comparison with recent theological conceptions.

Consequently, although the kingdom of God, in its essential, inner, religious content, already existed in Christ and had been founded by Him, yet its perfect form, which was to be brought about by God alone, could only be expected in the future. In this sense Christ repeatedly predicted its coming. And, indeed, as He knew that it was connected with Himself personally as its founder, it could only have come in perpetuity with Him and through Him as

the chosen instrument and the perfect Mediator of the divine dominion. But this future establishment of the divine kingdom in its final form must necessarily have grown into a second coming, as soon as He could no longer hope to assume the government of it in this completed form in His lifetime. And this brings us to the setting up of the kingdom as the purpose of His second coming. He had, indeed, no occasion to assume from the first that He would be enabled to do this by an ascension to heaven. But as soon as He contemplated His execution, He could only have expected that assumption of the kingdom to be effected by His glorified personality which had passed through death. For that purpose He desired to come in actual bodily form from heaven.

The form in which He viewed the second coming will be determined by the shape in which He imagined the final kingdom itself. We see from the evidence of incontestable passages, that He conceived it as a dominion over a heavenly earth, which He desired to govern surrounded by His apostles. It extends to the whole world, but has nevertheless a theocratic form. In this respect, therefore, Jesus preserves the limits which He so emphatically enjoined on the disciples when sending them out upon their mission. Nay, they are still to be engaged in that very work at His return. That destroys the preconceived notion that the historical Jesus contemplated a real mission to the Gentiles.

Even the commission of the Risen One in reference to that can hardly be genuine (Matt. xxviii. 19 f.). For we cannot conceive how it was possible for the entire early Church not only to ignore it in the way it did, but to resist the untheocratic mission of Paul to the Gentiles. Jesus must therefore have conceived the conversion of the Gentiles, and this again in keeping with the old prophets, as taking place with the beginning of the final form of the kingdom, and as an indirect or direct consequence of His return; that is, so far as He reflected at all on the form—which had no religious importance—of the incorporation of the Gentiles with the kingdom of God.

This theocratic form of the final dominion is therefore confirmed by the other side of the matter, namely, that Jesus, likewise in genuine prophetic manner, regarded the earth, though in a glorified shape, as the place of His dominion.

The individual forms, indeed, in which He conceived and represented the new life, can only have had for Him the value of pictures—pictures, however, in keeping with the transformation of earth and the spiritual body of the Risen One, not of purely spiritual and heavenly realities, but of a blending of spiritual and corporeal, of heavenly and earthly realities. Though He measures, estimates, and modifies the whole saving content of the sacred tradition by the standard of His infallible revelation and the principles of His religious view of things,

one cannot see how this should have led Him to change right off those forms which had no religious importance and at the same time were worthy of their content, or to regard them as mere pictures of purely spiritual things and events.

Hence Jesus' heavenly dominion of earth is not to be reduced to a mere transcendent scene of final judgment, since He, following the lines of the whole of prophecy, certainly conceived that judgment to be a Messianic function which essentially belonged to Him and pertained to the form of the setting up of His kingdom. For this notion also contained the true religious kernel of His primitive revelation, namely, that the final decision as to men's eternal destiny belonged to Him as the only Mediator of salvation in God's stead.

To this notion of Jesus as to His setting up the kingdom must correspond the conception which He had as to the manner of His coming. Though the clouds of heaven with which He thought He would appear only symbolised to Him the divine majesty of His commission, yet He could not possibly have taken His coming itself as a mere super-earthly one, and this simply because it mediated to Him the entrance on His heavenly dominion of earth. It must rather have been through a spiritualised material medium, in keeping with His glorified body, and been at one and the same time the starting-point of Heaven and the goal of the glorified earth.

At any rate, His "spiritual" coming must be conceived as quite different from this eschatological one. The idea of the so-called "historical" coming, by which is usually understood a continuous coming, or, more definitely, a series of periodically returning beginnings and preparations for His final coming, cannot be established by exegesis, and does not correspond to Jesus' general idea of His parousia. Neither Luke xvii. 22 nor Matt. xxvi. 64 proves the contrary. But the variation of this view, which makes it a growth of the Church which, according to Mark ix. 1, would come with power, cannot be justified by Jesus' conception, or by the connection of this passage. Here also it is not so much a period as a moment that is contemplated, and that, too, the moment of His one final return.

Finally, the interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem as a historical parousia has now been mostly given up, especially since it cannot find support even in Mark xiii.

The assumption that Jesus knew of a "historical" return beside the eschatological one, but that the disciples misunderstood it in the latter sense, is one which is specially meant to avert a painful conclusion. If Jesus expressly meant His eschatological coming in those passages in which He promised to come again within His own generation, then we would have to admit the incorrectness of this notion of the time of His return. This brings us to the most difficult problem of the promise of return,

namely, the question as to the time when Jesus viewed it as taking place. Since, as we have seen, Mark ix. 1 should be taken eschatologically, the words (only) "some" of those surrounding Jesus were to live to see His return, prove that He really did assume the time expressed. Yet He does not, of course, like a soothsayer, think of definite individuals, but those surrounding Him represent His Jewish contemporaries.

This view is strongly confirmed by the passage already referred to, Matt. x. 23. Jesus' threat addressed to His judges that they shall personally see Him coming in the clouds of heaven, is also indirectly in favour of it (Mark xiv. 62).

Finally, Jesus declares in Mark xiii. 30, in exact keeping with Mark ix. 1, that "this generation" shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished. This, of course, has been frequently referred to the destruction of Jerusalem. To all appearance, however, its original meaning points likewise to the parousia. Nothing certain, indeed, can be concluded from the non-authentic connection of the verse. Yet it is important to notice that Jesus, for reasons that can be easily explained, frequently considers or presupposes the moment of His return as one to be expected soon, while He scarcely once takes any notice of the time of that destruction elsewhere.

If, on the other hand, it should be urged that the parable of the budding fig tree, which precedes our saying, is in close connection with it, and that since

this parable refers not to the last day, but rather to the Jewish catastrophe, the saying quoted probably refers to the same thing, we would have to reply as follows. The originality of the connection cannot indeed be guaranteed even here. Yet if this be admitted, the connection, on the contrary, rather favours the contention that our Lord's words are to be understood as referring to the parousia.

At least the parable of the fig tree is very well suited to this, while Haupt's application of it to the destruction of Jerusalem not only seems to be artificial, but scarcely possible exegetically. No doubt the point of comparison is between the budding of the fig tree before the summer and the tribulations which precede the final kingdom, and does not consist in a similarity of the forces which produce the blossom and the summer on the one hand, the miseries and the final kingdom on the other; nor is it found in the outward nearness of the budding of the tree and summer in the one case and the final tribulation and the appearance of the kingdom on the other. What is meant is rather the inevitable certainty with which summer follows the sprouting of the tree, and the coming of the woes is to guarantee the approach of the kingdom. That is the very thing that contains the great consolation which the disciples most needed in that time of need. On the other hand, that other interpretation is opposed not only by the obscurity and tautological form which would then adhere to the parable, but,

above all, by the fact that we would here have to borrow or guess the object compared from the parable itself as its own metaphor, whereas this object in other cases is always distinguished from that with which it is compared. And this would run counter to all parable formation.

But even apart from the passages adduced, in which it plainly appears that Jesus expected His parousia in the lifetime of His own generation, the same assumption follows from the way in which He always treats the relation of those He addresses to that future event. It is acknowledged that He always speaks as if they would live to see His coming at the last day. We can only do justice to this fact when we simply recognise it as founded on the Lord's presupposition of His return during that generation.

In the same way His constant exhortations to the disciples to watch and be ready lest they be taken unawares by the day of the return, have a real meaning only if they must expect it in their own generation, without, however, knowing beforehand the exact moment in which it will appear.

Consequently, in view of this express fore-announcement of the Lord that the present generation is to live to see His return, He cannot have meant that His ignorance of the day or hour of His coming (Mark xiii. 32) was absolute, but only relative. That He is content to be ignorant only of the exact moment, is contained in the expression

"day or hour," and is confirmed by the wording of the parables bearing on the subject.

If, beside the usual presupposition of Jesus that His day will come sooner than the disciples expect, there is found here and there a saying which makes it be delayed longer than many think, that is easily explained. For such like sayings generally belong to Jesus' exhortations to patience in the great tribulation which precedes the day of the return. In this tribulation the disciples will of course long for redemption to come more speedily than it does. And therefore the Lord comforts them by saying that these very miseries are a sure guarantee to them of the nearness of His day (cf. Mark xiii. 28 f.).

After having established the fact of this unique idea of Jesus regarding His return, we have still to put it on a more sure psychological basis, as the possibility of it is apt to be doubted from this very side. Here we must remember that the ignorance of the time, especially as regards the beginning of the time of salvation or of the final kingdom, can be shown to represent a universal limit of prophetic knowledge. But in such things as had no direct religious importance, and did not concern His saving mission, Jesus of course took up a receptive attitude towards the tradition unless there were special reasons for not doing so. Hence we see, especially when we consider His conception of inspiration, that He could hardly have helped assuming, in conformity with those views of the prophets, that the kingdom would

appear in its final form in the lifetime of His own generation. But the assurance that Heaven and earth shall pass away sooner than this shall fail of its fulfilment, is undoubtedly interpolated.

On the other hand, He had no reason for being conscious of this error which He held in common with the prophets, especially when we consider His absolute confidence in the divine omnipotence, the limits of His geographical horizon, and the want of historical foresight peculiar to His time. If the scholar Paul likewise put the second coming in his day, and yet hoped his mission to the world would be essentially finished in that time, how much less might the final evangelising of Israel, which was all that He at first contemplated, have appeared to Jesus as a hindrance of that time of His return.

Above all, however, the actual religious finality of the time He introduced prevented it from occurring to Him that the real end would not come even yet.

Weiffenbach seeks to explain away the fact that Jesus' prediction as to the time of His return was incorrect, by assuming that what He meant by the coming again in His own generation was the resurrection. This view, however, cannot be proved by means of Mark ix. 1. But supposing this passage refers to the resurrection, the time would not have been fulfilled even in this case. For at the resurrection there were not merely "some" of those who surrounded Him alive. Luke xvii. 24 cannot be used in proof because a universal visibility is ascribed to

the return, and this cannot apply to the resurrection. The anxious way in which Jesus warns the disciples not to let themselves be taken unawares by the day of the return, is just as far from agreeing with that idea. And even their eternal destiny is made to depend on their being in a proper state of preparedness.

It is only possible to identify the prediction of resurrection and second coming by detaching the latter from its immediate purpose and goal, the setting up of the kingdom, and by ignoring other distinctions.

B. Weiss admits Jesus' assumption that He will come again in His own generation, but seeks to strip it of error by supposing that He claimed no "categorical" knowledge on the subject, but is conscious at the same time that such divine decrees may be altered. It is, however, not enough to say that Weiss stretches this too far, for the truth rather is that, in this special case, as we cannot help judging after the event, a return within the current generation could never have been in God's plan. And as regards the certainty of Jesus' assumption, the incorrectness of the idea makes the error, the self-assurance of the thinker constitutes its intensity. For reasons that are easily understood, Jesus never seems to have thought that He could be mistaken on this point.

Now, although He had a mistaken notion of that time, and could not have known the limit of His knowledge on this point, yet, on the other hand, no

one could charge Him with presumption and fanaticism, even if He had not possessed substantially correct notions regarding the exact mode of His coming. For the position of the moral and religious ruler and judge of the world really belonged to Him. The notions as to the manner of His return, however, even supposing them to be incorrect, are just as little to be judged by a moral standard as is the undoubted mistake in the date, and, on the other hand, leave untouched the full sober truth of the religious contents.

At any rate, Jesus' mistake with regard to the time is no greater than the other, that as the Messiah He has to enter into conflict with the demons as personal evil spirits. Yet both the one and the other concern only the form of the religious notion, and in no way its contents. To me it is self-evident that He was subject to no mistake regarding the latter, since this fact necessarily follows from His sinlessness.

CONCLUSION

There is undoubtedly something congenial in the assumption that Jesus, through the power of His "self-restraint and self-discipline," was able to avoid all incorrect notions in the religious province at least (Haupt, p. 138 f.), even where these concerned nothing but the form. Closer investigation, however, has shown that this view does not fully

correspond to the impartial estimate of the historical picture of Jesus as presented to us in the sources.

If anything could have convinced me of the error of my own view, it would have been Haupt's treatise, its clear and harmonious statement of the matter, and its pious estimate of Christ's personality. My own aim, however, is to point out the original, authoritative, and central position occupied by Jesus in the whole content of revelation that has religious value, and in contrast to that to show that He was conditioned by contemporary ideas in nothing but the forms of religious ideas (cf. Haupt, pp. 1-3, 49, 54 f.). And I also endeavour to understand both by tracing them to their roots in the divine and human consciousness of Jesus. Notwithstanding this common aim, and the similar standard for separating what was divine in the full sense from what was borrowed and human in Christ's revelation of God, I could not but come to somewhat different results. For the fact forces itself too plainly upon me that Jesus held certain mistaken notions even in points that in some way concerned the form of His revelation. But in that case the limits have to be drawn between the fixed kernel of that revelation and its outward husk, which in itself was not entirely inaccessible to error.

In my larger work I have endeavoured to carry this out with regard to the whole prophetic mental life of Jesus. In the present treatise, however, which is an important division of that work, I have aimed at applying that point of view to the three main

predictions of Jesus. The ultimate establishment of the principles of the whole must, of course, be left over to my complete account of His revelation. However, I hope that this particular investigation, on account of the central significance of its subject, will be fitted to establish the tenability of my standpoint.

The insignificance of such formal imperfections in the form of Christ's revelation of God as regards our salvation, will become the clearer the more one is able to distinguish between the essential and non-essential. I intend, therefore, soon to subject this question of value to a special examination in my larger work.

If we look back on the three predictions as different sides of Jesus' Messianic self-consciousness, He must indeed have suffered death on behalf of the highest revelation of God's love for the deliverance of sinners, but as the holy Son of God who was in inseparable fellowship with the God of life, He could not have been held by death. Rather could He not fail to go to God as a Messianic victor in order to rule for ever in God's stead. He reigns among the perfected even now, and will one day rule over the whole of humanity in a new and glorified world.

At the same time it is manifest that the saving significance of the person of Jesus Christ is not in the least diminished by my conception of His predictions. For certain imperfections of the form in which He conceived and proclaimed that revelation of God concern at most the more exact circum-

stances, or rather, so far as this can be proved with certainty, almost nothing but the moment of the consummation of the kingdom of God. If the contents of the predictions are referred to the infallible revelation of the Son of God, then such defects must have adhered to Him as a prophet, though the ideal one.

Finally, my only wish in regard to my treatise as a whole is that it may be examined without prejudice, and that whatever truth it has may be retained, and its errors rejected. Would that it might help to free from extraneous additions the image of Him in whom alone is contained the full knowledge of God, and the true power of God, and indeed our whole salvation; so that from the brightness of His countenance heavenly light may shine into the hearts of men!



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